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INTONATION FORMULAS AND MODAL SIGNATURES IN BYZANTINE MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS

BY

JØRGEN RAASTED

COPENHAGEN

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Memoriae Carsten Høeg

A Note to the Reader:

On some pages certain elements of the notation have been printed in red, mostly intonation formulas and modal signatures. This has been done for practical reasons, especially to avoid a confusion between confirmatory neumes and the ordinary musical notation. Accordingly there is not always complete agreement between my use of red and that of the MS quoted, although my practice would certainly make sense to an intelligent Byzantine scribe.

In Appendix B (pp.181 sqq.) I have followed the usages of my manuscripts as closely as possible; if there are any discrepancies at all, these are due to the fact that I have had to work from black-and-white microfilms, on which red ink can at times be hardly distinguished from brown or black.

J.R.

FOREWORD

In the early stages of my work, discussions with my unforgettable teacher CARSTEN HØEG were a constant stimulus. It was he who initiated me into the study of Byzantine music almost 20 years ago, and to the end of his life he never ceased to take an interest in my undertaking. Always willing to listen to his students and take their ideas seriously, yet never trying to impose his own opinions, CARSTEN HØEG has inspired the present book more than anybody else - although less than ten pages of it were written when he died in April 1961. Dedicating this book to his memory is a short and natural way of expressing my indebtedness and gratitude.

To the Editorial Board of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae and to its director, Professor OLIVER STRUNK, I extend my sincere thanks for having included my dissertation in the Subsidia. During Professor STRUNK's numerous visits to Copenhagen I have drawn heavily on his knowledge of Byzantine musical manuscripts, and we have frequently discussed the controversial points of my book; I owe much to his stern and authoritative criticism, also in those cases where I have preferred to follow my own lines of thought.

During the period in which I have been writing the present book, my friend CHRISTIAN THODBERG has carried out his large-scale investigation of the Byzantine Allelouiarion Cycle. The two books have one topic in common, the medial signatures, on which our discussions have been numerous and intense. I cannot send my book to the press without thanking THODBERG for this open and free exchange of ideas.

I wish to thank ARNE BUGGE, GUDRUN ENGBERG, KENNETH LEVY, and PAUL EVANS for their valuable help, and in general to thank the many students of Byzantine music with whom I have had a chance to talk over some of my problems, and also the librarians and keepers of Byzantine musical manuscripts in the many libraries where I have worked.

I am greatly indebted to the University of Copenhagen for grants which have made it possible for me to visit manuscript collections all over Europe. To Professor POVL JOHANNES JENSEN, the director of the Institut for Græsk og Latinsk Middelalderfilologi, I am grateful, not only for the excellent working conditions I have enjoyed, but also for a moral support which has greatly helped me not to discontinue my studies.

My friends LIS and JOHNNY CHRISTENSEN have kindly undertaken to revise my English text. For their skill and tact in this I am most obliged.

Stud. mag. JØRGEN MEJER has helped me with that most tedious operation: reading a proof.

Finally I want to thank Messrs. J. A. PETERSEN and KNUD C. CHRISTENSEN, my printers, and CHRISTIAN HAMMERGAARD, whose engravings embellish the book, for their careful and intelligent work.

Roskilde, May 1966.

Jørgen Raasted

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CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The modal indications in Byzantine musical manuscripts - the so-called signatures (μαρτυρίαι) and intonations (ἠχήματα) - have mostly been studied in their function as starting point for the chain of intervals of the musical notation. Even in the later stages of notation, beginning with the Round notation of the 12th century, the Byzantine neumes have no pitch value but indicate the ups and downs of the melodic movement, each interval sign expressing the note in relation to the one immediately preceding. For instance, in the following Idiomelon for November 21 (Presentation)[1]

Ση-με-ρὸν τῷ ναῷ προσ-ά-γε-ται

etc., the Duo Apostrophoi on ται indicate that this syllable is sung on a pitch which is one step (μία φωνή, as the Byzantines put it) below that of the preceding syllable γε; similarly the Apostrophos on γε means "one φωνή below the preceding α", the Oxeia on α indicates "one φωνή above the tone of προσ", and the group on προσ "three φωναί below the preceding ω".

It is obvious that a notation which indicates φωναί without distinguishing between tones and half-tones cannot be satisfactorily interpreted unless one knows where to begin - not necessarily the absolute pitch of the initial note but its relative pitch, i.e. the distance between the initial note and the half-tones of the mode in question[2]. In the present example, the initial note (over the syllable Ση) is expressed by an Ison, i.e. the same level as indicated by the preceding signature. The crucial point for our understanding, therefore, is the meaning of this signature. TILLYARD - by experiments, transcribing a good many hymns 'backwards' - was able to establish the meaning of the more frequent signatures[3], among others that "indicated g as the starting-note". Our musical example could thus be transcribed as

[G] G ab b b cd d a b a G.

For a long time the merely 'practical' use made of the signatures was no serious disadvantage to a study of Byzantine music, where the main concern was to make the medieval melodies accessible to musicologists.

For purposes of transcription, TILLYARD's table of signatures was a good tool - and signatures which were not included in the table could usually be made out by a reasoning which used the classical method of TILLYARD, basically consisting in a 'backward' transcription either from the very end of the hymn or from a

1. MMB I, fol.63r; cf. MMB Transcripta II (Nov), p.113.

2. The Byzantine tonal system is described below, pp.7-8.

3. Cf. e. g. his Handbook (MMB Subsidia I, fasc. 1, 1935), pp. 30 sqq.

point inside, where the pitch for some reason or other was evident[4]. As for a deeper understanding of the signatures, scattered remarks and suggestions appear sporadically even in the earlier works of TILLYARD, WELLESZ, and others; but however suggestive they are, these sparse observations have not led to a really coherent picture of the nature and functions of signatures and intonations.

In 1945 OLIVER STRUNK published a very important paper on Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes[5]. Following an old suggestion of TILLYARD's as to "a connection of some sort between the intonation-formulas and the signatures of the Byzantine modes" he managed "to demonstrate that such a connection exists in fact, to clarify its precise nature, and to explore the further evident connection between the formulas and the signatures of the modes on the one hand and the opening patterns of the melodies themselves on the other"[6]. As this paper has been most inspiring for my own work and as it is also an excellent introduction to some of the main problems concerning the function of signatures and intonations, I shall give a summary of its leading ideas:

> STRUNK's first point is to demonstrate that the Byzantine modal formula[7] and the Byzantine modal signature[8] are interchangeable. Combining the data from the Stikherarion Koutloumousi 412 with the ἠχήματα-lists of the Papadikai[9] STRUNK draws long lists of parallels between signatures and intonations[10]. From these coincidences he is able to state, in a definite way: "The Byzantine modal signature is simply an abbreviation. Its letter-numeral stands for the body of a formula - since this is regularly the same, the singer may safely be left to supply it; its added neumes give the required ending - since this varies from case to case, it must be written out in full".[11]
>
> STRUNK next deals in detail with the connection between intonations and the opening phrases of the melodies, using Plagios Tetartos for this purpose. The choice of intonation to be used for a given melody seems to be dependent on the opening pattern of that melody - and although the various patterns treated do not display complete stability, STRUNK is able to reduce "something like seventy per cent of the melodies of this mode, as contained in Koutloumousi 412" to eleven distinct and characteristic types of opening pattern[12]. His triple statement of the results obtained by the investigation of Plagios Tetartos deserves to be quoted in full: "Given a melody of this mode, we can safely predict its preparation; given an intonation of this mode, we can in most cases safely predict that the opening to follow will conform to a specific type or to some one of several specific types; given a thematic list of the melodies of this mode, we have only to arrange the incipits according to their intonations or signatures to obtain a rough classification".[13]
>
> At the end of his article STRUNK briefly discusses - and rejects - the idea of regarding the intonation formulas as 'Memorierformeln' or 'Ur-Melodien'; their tonal material is too limited and simple for that. But regarded as formulas of preparation or transition they seem "to be admirably suited to their purpose". In this connection he

4. Cf. TILLYARD's own remarks in MMB Transcr. VIII (Hirm.III,2), p. VIII note 1 and in The Byzantine Modes in the Twelfth Century (BSA XLVIII,182).

5. The Musical Quarterly 31, 1945, pp.339-55.

6. ibid., p. 339.

7. "a diminutive vocalization designed to introduce (or to prepare) the singing of a chant in some one of the eight modes" p.339.

8. "a conventionalized letter-numeral combined with characters borrowed from the musical notation; it is designed to indicate to the singer the modality of the melody to follow and, at the same time, the precise step of the system ("starting tone") from which the initial tone ("initial") of that melody is to be reckoned" p.340.

9. These lists are described ibid., pp. 341 sqq., with reference to published sources. See also below, p.39, note 3.

10. ibid., p.344 (Plagios Tetartos) and pp. 351-352 (all modes).

11. ibid., p.345. Cf. below, p.8.

12. ibid., p.350.

13. ibid., p.350.

> points out that the singing (by a choir) of a Byzantine Stikheron, Heirmos, or Troparion is usually preceded by the choral recitation of a verse (στίχοσ) taken from a Psalm or from a Canticle. In such cases, "the formula of intonation, sung by a solo singer, the Canonarch or Protopsaltes, serves as a link connecting the verse with the chant that follows; where no such verse precedes, as is the case with the Processional Stichera, for example, it serves as a preparation and as an announcement of the mode. This last applies also to the formula which precedes the verse itself". This transitional function which STRUNK ascribes to the Byzantine formulas of intonation is compared with the function of the Gregorian differentiae - and STRUNK, in his final conclusion, finds that WAGNER's 'Anpassungsgesetz' is also observed in Byzantine Chant.[14]

Among the problems which STRUNK did not take into consideration in the article, that of the medial signatures is perhaps the most important to tackle. Medial signatures is the usual term for the signatures which, in many MSS, are put at certain places inside the melodies. The term thus contrasts these signatures with those at the beginning of the hymns, but does not give any hint as to their function. From the very beginning of the Western study of Byzantine music they have been interpreted as means of control, helping the singers to be sure that they had not by mistake got out of tune[15]. This attitude is clearly implied in most of the comments on medial signatures in the commentaries of the MMB Transcripta volumes and is explicitely stated in TILLYARD's Handbook, at the very beginning of his treatment of the signatures: "The signature, called in Greek MARTYRIA (μαρτυρία), is used at the beginning of a Byzantine hymn and also medially, as a check on the correctness of the singing"[16]. Gradually, however, there has begun a tendency to treat the medial signatures in a different way. In WELLESZ's last volume in MMB Transcripta[17], for instance, the neumes of the medial signatures (i.e. the 'tails' of the intonations) are transcribed in the staff in exactly the same way as the neumes of the melodies. WELLESZ explains his reasons in the paragraph on "Editorial Principles" (p.LXVII): "Above the indications of the modes (α´, β´, etc.) a few neumes are set, the beginnings of Intonation formulae[18] which are transcribed in the staff between dotted lines. These Intonation formulae are intended to be a guide for the singer to intone the following melodic line at the right pitch. Sometimes a single note is given, sometimes a group of notes. It is impossible to say whether the full Intonation was sung, or just these few notes, or whether the Soloist who sang the Akathistos, hummed them inwardly in order to catch the right note of the following phrase. The transcription of the Signatures enables the reader to reconstruct the more complicated Intonation formulae".

It must be noted that these very suggestive remarks concern medial signatures in the Akathistos Hymn, i. e. in a MS of melismatic chant

14. ibid., p.355: "But what is most important, both bodies of chant, Eastern and Western, are now seen to be governed by a single law of style - the law of melodic adjustment, the law requiring that, when two melodies stand in immediate succession, the first must be accommodated to the second by means of an appropriate treatment of its ending".

15. For a discussion of this interpretation, see below, pp.64-65.

16. TILLYARD, Handbook, p.32; the underlining is mine.

17. The Akathistos Hymn, introduced and transcribed by Egon Wellesz (MMB Transcripta IX), Copenhagen 1957.

18. A most curious slip of the pen; it must, of course, be "endings" instead of "beginnings".

(Psaltikon style). In the introduction to the facsimile edition of this MS, the Contacarium Ashburnhamense[19], CARSTEN HØEG discusses at some length the use of medial signatures and medial intonations[20]. His conclusion is: "Il semble naturel de tirer la conclusion que les martyries, avec les notes qui les suivent[21], constituent un élément de chant qui se superpose à la mélodie proprement dite ou qui s'y ajoute. La chose s'explique le mieux, il me semble, si l'on suppose que le chant de la martyrie était exécuté facultativement (HØEG's italics) par une voix autre que celle du chantre". As to the connection between signature and intonation, HØEG interprets the cases where both a signature and an intonation is given to the same piece as indicating "un choix alternatif"[22].

In the passages just referred to, HØEG and WELLESZ agree as to the possibility that the medial signatures were sung and not only meant for the eye[23]. There is, however, one important difference between their views: To WELLESZ the only raison d'être of these sung signatures (or intonations) is to enable the singers to catch the right note of the following phrase[24] - whereas HØEG's repeated stressing of the "choix alternatif" implies that these intonations had an esthetical function besides.

More recently, CHRISTIAN THODBERG has contributed to the study of medial signatures and intonations in a new and original way. Starting from a number of medial signatures that are found on unusual pitches, THODBERG has endeavoured to show that these seemingly wrong signatures are not scribal errors but reflect tonal peculiarities in their musical context[25]. Byzantine musicologists have received his theories with reservation[26], but until now no thorough discussion of them has appeared in print. Since THODBERG's interpretations have been most inspiring for my own studies, I shall return to them at various occasions in the present book[27].

☆

Signatures and intonations are still used in the Greek Orthodox Church. The principal elements of present-day 'Neo-Byzantine' practice can be seen clearly in the following quotations from a modern manual of church singing[28]:

Εἰσ τὰ μουσικὰ κείμενα ἕκαστοσ φθόγγοσ σημειοῦται μὲ ὡρισμένον σημεῖον, τὸ ὁποῖον μαρτυρεῖ περὶ τοῦ φθόγγου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται μ α ρ τ υ ρ ί α. [Here follows a list of the 15 signatures, one for each of the steps in the double Diapason $^{G}_{G}$ - g. Each signature consists of a symbol derived from the medieval signatures + the initial letter of the Neo-Byzantine solmisation syllable; for instance, the signature for a ($\overset{\kappa}{\ddot{q}}$) is composed of the symbol q̈ (cf. the medieval g̈) and a κ (first letter of the solmisation syllable κε). After a description of this list, the text continues:] Ἐκτὸσ τῶν μαρτυριῶν τούτων ὑπάρχουν καὶ ἄλλαι διάφοροι μαρτυρίαι, περὶ τῶν ὁποίων θὰ κάμωμεν λόγον ἀλλαχοῦ. Τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι ἀνάγκη νὰ σημειώσωμεν τώρα, ὅτι αἱ μαρτυρίαι δὲν εἶναι φωνητικὰ σημεῖα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἐκφωνοῦνται. Δεικνύουν μόνον τὸν φθόγγον, εἰσ τὸν ὁποῖον εὑρισκόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁποίου ὡσ ἀπὸ ἀφετηρίασ θ'ἀρχίσωμεν ψάλλοντεσ ὡρισμένην τινὰ μελῳδίαν. Αἱ μαρτυρίαι αὐταί, αἱ ὁποῖαι τίθενται εἰσ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆσ μελῳδίασ, λέγονται ἀ ρ κ τ ι κ α ί. Ἐκτὸσ αὐτῶν ὅμωσ, παρόμοιαι μαρτυρίαι γράφονται καὶ εἰσ τὸ μέσον τοῦ μέλουσ, διὰ νὰ πιστοποιήσουν εἰσ ποῖον φθόγγον εὑρίσκεται τὸ μέλοσ εἰσ τὸ σημεῖον ἐκεῖνο. Αἱ μαρτυρίαι αὐταὶ δύνανται νὰ ὀνομασθοῦν δ ι ά μ ε σ ο ι. Ἀκόμη δύναταί τισ νὰ γράψῃ μαρτυρίαν καὶ εἰσ τὸ τέλοσ τοῦ μέλουσ, διὰ νὰ δείξῃ τὸν καταληκτικὸν φθόγγον. Αἱ μαρτυρίαι αὐταὶ δύνανται νὰ ὀνομασθοῦν κ α τ α λ η κ τ ι κ α ί (pp.51-52).

Τὸ μὲν ἀ π ή χ η μ α (ἢ προήχημα ἢ ἐνήχημα) εἶναι ἡ προετοιμασία καὶ ἐπιβολὴ τοῦ ἤχου, κατὰ τὸν ὁποῖον πρόκειται νὰ ψάλῃ τὸ μέλοσ. Γίνεται δὲ ἡ προετοιμασία αὐτὴ μὲ μίαν σύντομον μελωδικὴν γραμμήν, ἡ ὁποία ψάλλεται εὐθὺσ πρὸ τῆσ ἐνάρξεωσ τοῦ μέλουσ καὶ εἰσ τὸν αὐτὸν ἦχον μὲ ἐκεῖνο, διὰ νὰ δείξῃ τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ ἤχου. Καὶ παλαιότερον μὲν ὡσ προπαρασκευαστικὴ τοῦ μέλουσ γραμμὴ ἐψάλλετο ἕνασ ἀπὸ τοὺσ πολυσυλλάβουσ φθόγγουσ τῆσ κλίμακοσ[29]..... Σήμερον ὅμωσ τὸ ἀπήχημα εἶναι πολὺ σύντομον καὶ περιλαμβάνει συνήθωσ μίαν μόνον συλλαβήν. Ἔχει δὲ ἕκαστοσ ἦχοσ ἰδιαίτερον ἀπήχημα[30], ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ γνωρίζεται ὁ ἦχοσ εὐθὺσ ἐξ ἀρχῆσ. Ὅταν ὅμωσ προηγῆται τοῦ τροπαρίου στίχοσ τισ, ὁ στίχοσ αὐτὸσ ψάλλεται κατὰ τὸ μέλοσ τοῦ τροπαρίου καὶ ἑπομένωσ χρησιμεύει καὶ ὡσ ἀπήχημα. Εἰσ τοιαύτην περίπτωσιν δὲν γίνεται ἄλλη προετοιμασία τοῦ ἤχου (p.125).

19. MMB IV, 1956.

20. ibid., pp.29-34. I will return to this very valuable part of HØEG's introduction later on; see below, p.78.

21. i. e. the neumes which TILLYARD has called 'confirmatory'.

22. ibid., p.30.

23. The validity of this concept will be shown below, pp.55-64.

24. This point will be discussed - and refuted - below, p.65.

25. THODBERG's interpretation of these phenomena can be followed in The tonal system of the Kontakarium (Hist.Filos.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk. 37,no.7,1960); Chromatic alterations in the Sticherarium (Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantines. Ochride, 10-16 septembre 1961. Tome II, Beograd 1964, pp. 607-612), and in his thesis for the doctorate, Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus, Copenhagen 1966. (= MMB Subsidia VIII).

26. Cf., however, the review of The tonal system by R. SCHLÖTTERER in Byzantinische Zeitschrift 55, 1962, p.102.

27. See especially below, pp.20-25, 46, 55 sqq., 75, and 101.

28. Θεωρία καὶ πρᾶξισ τῆσ βυζαντινῆσ ἐκκλησιαστικῆσ μουσικῆσ (μέθοδοσ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀσκήσεων καὶ παραδειγμάτων). Ὑπὸ Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ. Ἀθῆναι, 1947.

It should be noted that the modern signatures are never sung; in theory as well as in practice their only function is to define pitch. Another interesting detail is that final signatures are used, beside the main and medial signatures which we know from medieval MSS[31]. Finally I should like to stress the fact that the old polysyllabic intonations αναυεαυεσ, υεαγιε, etc. have been replaced by very short ones, usually monosyllabic (υε, υεεεε, etc.)[32].

☆

The reader will by now have been introduced to some of the main problems concerning signatures and intonations. I have deliberately made no attempt to define the object to be investigated in the present book, fearing that any such definition would only be a disadvantage for an undertaking whose leading principle is complete open-mindedness. As indicated by its title, the book will

29. i. e. the intonation syllables ανανεανεσ, νεανεσ, etc.

30. Cf. below, pp.148 sq.

31. Final signatures can be found in late medieval MSS, too.

32. Cf. below, pp.149 sq.

be centered on signatures and intonations - that is, roughly speaking, what is to be found in TILLYARD's table in Handbook p.33 and in the ἠχήματα-lists of the Papadikai - but the various aspects of this subject will not be treated with equal thoroughness. In fact, most space will be given to the study of problems concerning medial signatures and medial intonations, whereas I have nothing substantial to add e. g. to STRUNK's investigation of the relations between intonation and incipit[33].

The investigation ought to be simultaneously carried out along different lines, as the various problems are often highly intervowen and interdependent. However, in order to avoid unnecessary abuse of the reader's good-will, I have divided the book into chapters each of which treats one aspect of the problems under discussion. Frequent cross-references, I hope, will remedy any logical inconvenience[34]. As to the order of treatment, I have chosen to start with a discussion of the problems of transcription (Chapter II) and the codicological questions (Chapter III). In the following chapter (IV) I conclude the more descriptive part of the book with a sketch of the signatures and intonations as they appear in the various treatises of musical theory. Chapter V will treat the functions which have been (or must be) ascribed to the intonations and signatures; this part of the investigation needs long détours and is, accordingly, a rather long chapter. To make up for that, an almost total lack of information makes the next chapter (VI, on performance) very short. The following chapter (VII) describes the development of the Byzantine intonation system, being concentrated upon the changes in the use of medial intonations; at the end of the chapter some suggestions are put forward about the origins and early development of the intonations. In the last chapter (VIII) the practical consequences of my research will be briefly dealt with. Two appendices complete the book - Appendix A containing a detailed description of the rubrication work in the Dalassenos Stikherarion, Vienna Theol. Graec. 181, Appendix B reproducing my collations of four Stikhera which are frequently used throughout the book.

33. See above, p.2. These relations are studied by GIOVANNI MARZI in his Melodia e nomos nella musica bizantina (Università degli Studi di Bologna. Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Studi pubblicati dall' Istituto di Filologia Classica. VIII. Bologna 1960). Cf., however, below, pp.85-89 (on these relations in the Palæobyzantine tradition) and pp.33-36 (on alternative opening patterns).

34. The study of Byzantine music has made remarkable progress in our century; needless to say, each new book or article has rendered some earlier conclusions and approaches obsolete. Usually I pass over such data without comment, as I do not wish to insist upon consequences of a natural evolutional process.
On the whole I have tried not to overload the present book with unnecessary references to secondary literature. This parsimony may leave an impression that the author (like another Epicurus) pretends to be more self-taught than he really is. But that is certainly not the case. I fully acknowledge how indebted I am to the work of other scholars in this field.

CHAPTER II. PROBLEMS OF TRANSCRIPTION

Transcriptions of Byzantine melodies into Western notation are based on the assumption that medieval Byzantine chant consists of tones and half-tones only. The diatonic character of Byzantine music has been postulated by WELLESZ and TILLYARD from the early days of their studies, and their position - which lies behind such work as that done in the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae and that of the Grottaferrata school - has since then found support in observations made by a number of scholars[1]. It would lead this book off the track if I were to demonstrate once more the validity of this assumption, and any such demonstration would presumably add nothing substantial to the discussion. So, for practical reasons I take this basic assumption as an axiom[2].

In his article in The Musical Quarterly 1942[3] STRUNK has put forward an analysis of the tonal system realized in Byzantine music. His results can be summarized in the following diagram which shows the relative position of the modes within this tonal system:

CENTRAL OCTAVE

Lowest tetrachord — Lower tetrachord — Upper tetrachord — Highest tetrachord

I II III IV (lowest) — I II III IV (lower) — I II III IV (upper) — I II III IV (highest)

1 ½ 1 1 ½ 1 1 1 1 ½ 1 1 ½ 1

This system, of course, has no absolute pitch in a purely vocal music. As STRUNK puts it: "the actual pitch taken in performance is dictated,

1. Cf. e. g. O. STRUNK, The tonal system of Byzantine music (The Musical Quarterly 28, 1942, pp. 190-204) - "on the basis of literary and musical evidence, and without resort to analogy"; E. WELLESZ, History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, second edition, Oxford 1961, p. 22 - on the parallel versions of the same melodies in Eastern and Western notation; C. HØEG, The oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music (Proceedings of the British Academy 39, 1953, pp.37-66), p.42 - on the diatonic character of Russian chant.

2. "Unambiguous supporting testimony" has recently been found by STRUNK in a 16th cent. treatise by Hieronymus Tragodistes of Cyprus. See STRUNK, A Cypriote in Venice (Natalicia Musicologica Knud Jeppesen Anno MCMLXII collegis oblata), p.106.

3. Cf. above, note 1.

not by what is written, but by the singers' convenience"[4]. Consequently, the pitches which we choose in transcription are to be chosen from practical considerations only. In Western staff notation, a transcription of the central octave as D – d seems to be most convenient, since it "yields a result virtually free from accidentals, lying for the most part well within the range of the average voice" (p.194). The diagram given above p.7 can thus be rendered

A B C D   d e f g

D E F G a b c d

Quite recently THODBERG has suggested that the Kontakarian melodies are based on a system of conjunct tetrachords. This tonal system in transcription would involve two accidentals, C-sharp and F-sharp[5]:

A B C♯ D   G a b c

D E F♯ G   c d e f

I shall return to THODBERG's system later on (below, pp. 20 sqq.).

In Chapter I we saw that the signatures could be understood as graphical abbreviations of full intonations. The correlation between some common signatures and standard intonations can be seen from the following table:

Protos: stands for α ια νε α νες
Deuteros: stands for νε α νες
Tritos: stands for α νε ε ε α νε ε ε ες
Tetartos: stands for α α α γι α α
Plagios Protos: stands for α νε α νες
Plagios Deuteros: stands for νε ε α νες
Barys: stands for α α νες
Plagios Tetartos: stands for νε α γι ε
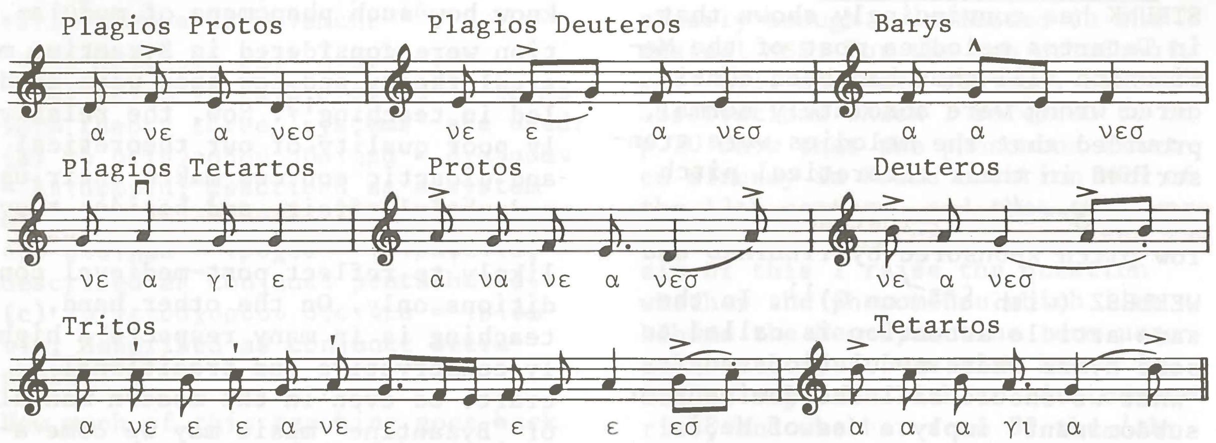
From TILLYARD's backward transcriptions[6], from late Byzantine musical theory[7], and for a good many other reasons the relative pitches of the first notes of these intonations come out clearly: the incipits of the four authentic modes form the four ascending steps of one tetrachord (a b c d) and those of the corresponding plagal modes form another tetrachord (D E F G). In their 'theoretical' pitch the eight standard intonations are accordingly to be transcribed as follows:

4. ibid., p.200. Cf. Notker's remarks "Anafahendo habet er geuualt ze erheuenne so nidero alde so hoho er uuile..." (GERBERT, Scriptores I, 100).

5. In The tonal system of the Kontakarium (see above, p.4, note 25), p.32.

6. Cf. above, p.1.

7. See Examples 1-2 of Chapter IV, below, pp.50-51.



It should be noticed that half-tone steps occur in all these intonation melodies except those of Deuteros and Plagios Tetartos. This feature is to be connected with the function of the intonations[8].

I have already mentioned that signatures (and intonations) are found not only before the hymns, forming the starting point of the chain of intervals, but also intercalated within the melody, usually at resting points of some kind. Any student of Byzantine music will have noticed that there is a marked difference between main signatures (and intonations) and medial signatures (and intonations)[9]: The MSi and MInt usually have their 'theoretical' pitch, whereas MeSi and MeInt are frequently found on other pitches besides. Thus, to mention only a few well-known examples, a πg on a is as legitimate a MeSi as one on D, and y is not only found on b but also on e. In practice there are undoubtedly restrictions in this free movement of pitch from one tetrachord to another, but the phenomenon can be observed so frequently that it justifies the following simplification, which sums up what has been said on the preceding pages:

The relative positions of the initial notes of the Byzantine standard intonations reflect a tetrachordal system, built up of tetrachords of identical structure (disjunctly or conjunctly combined). On the first (lowest) step of the tetrachord lie the Protos and its plagal, on the second the Deuteros-modes, on the third the Tritos-modes, and on the fourth the Tetartos-modes. The tetrachord consists of tone + half-tone + tone, that is to say that the half-tone step is between the pitch of the Deuteros-modes and the Tritos-modes.

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From any musical manuscript in Round notation it can easily be verified that the majority of signatures (both MSi and MeSi) fit into the system described above, pp. 7-8. But with the same certainty we can predict that every MS contains some signatures which do not conform. These deviating signatures are the real subject-matter of the present chapter.

8. Cf. below, p.66.

9. For the sake of brevity I shall use the following abbreviations when necessary: MSi for main signatures, MeSi for medial signatures, MInt for main intonations, and MeInt for medial intonations.

In The Musical Quarterly 1942[10] STRUNK has convincingly shown that in Tetartos melodies most of the MeSi which till then had been considered wrong were absolutely normal, provided that the melodies were transcribed in their theoretical pitch (with δ᷾ on d) instead of in the low pitch sponsored by TILLYARD and WELLESZ (with δ᷾ on G)[11]. In the same article attention is called to some hymns where modulations to "what we should call the dominant or subdominant" imply a use of MeSi which seems to go against the usual system[12]. As an illustration STRUNK prints in full one of the Stikhera which run through all eight modes, the Doxastikon Θεαρχίῳ νεύματι (for August 15, Dormition), and shows how the Barys section of this Stikheron stands in a transposition to the dominant whereas the Plagios Tetartos section modulates to the subdominant. I have checked STRUNK's results by collating several other manuscripts for this melody. The most frequent of the 'transposed' MeSi used are ɡ᷾ on e (in the section which modulates to the dominant) and πδ᷾ on c (in the subdominant section. In the melody itself, of course, similar features of transposition can be seen; most clear are some cadences which reappear in the transposed sections respectively one fifth or one fourth higher than in the untransposed sections. As STRUNK rightly points out, the transpositions must in our transcription be rendered by using key-signatures , one sharp for the modulation to the dominant and one flat for that to the subdominant.

It would be of capital interest to know how such phenomena of modulation were considered in Byzantine musical theory and how they were handled in teaching[13]. Now, the relatively poor quality of our theoretical and didactic sources makes their use a doubtful affair, and besides they are mostly so late that they are likely to reflect post-medieval conditions only. On the other hand, teaching is in many respects a highly conservative and traditional craft. So even in the modern manuals of "Byzantine" music may we come across really old ways and notions which are relevant to our present problem.

According to Neo-Byzantine theory there are different forms of μεταβολαί, all of which are indicated by a very refined use of Phthorai (which is not medieval)[14]:

(1) Μεταβολὴ κατὰ γένοσ; change from one to another of the diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic scales (γένη) in the course of a melody[15].

(2) Μεταβολὴ κατὰ τόνον, within one γένοσ. To illustrate this phenomenon (which is also called μετάθεσισ) PANAGIOTOPOULOS gives the following example: "If, in a diatonic melody, we put the Phthora of Πα (؟) on a Δι, the γένοσ remains the same, but a μεταβολὴ κατὰ τόνον takes place and the chain of intervals is altered. In this case we will consider the Δι a Πα and will, from this (new) base, rearrange (θὰ κανονίσωμεν) the following intervals, in upwards as well as in downwards movement"[16].

(3) Μεταβολὴ κατ' ἦχον[16a].

(4) Μεταβολὴ κατὰ σύστημα[17]. In modern theory three 'systems' are used: (a) τὸ ὀκτάχορδον σύστημα = διαπασῶν = ἑπταφωνία; described as a system of conjunct octaves. (b) τὸ πεντάχορδον σύστημα = τροχόσ = τετραφωνία; described as conjunct pentachords. (c) τὸ τετράχορδον σύστημα = τριφωνία; described as conjunct tetrachords[18].

How much of this teaching goes back to the Middle Ages? As I have already said, the whole idea of μεταβολαί is coupled with the Phthorai, so it seems a priori likely that the said modulation phenomena themselves are earlier than the use of Phthorai. It is hardly conceivable that a system of Phthorai should have been invented if it was not necessitated by something in the melodies which was not - or, at least, not clearly enough - indicated in the musical MSS. For the two μεταβολαί, κατ' ἦχον and κατὰ σύστημα, STRUNK's observations which I referred to on p.10 show that the phenomena existed already in Round notation MSS of the 13th century, and that they were reflected in the MeSi[19]. On the basis of this I raise the question whether the phenomenon which lies behind the Neo-Byzantine term μεταβολὴ κατὰ τόνον was also known in, let us say, the 12th to 14th centuries, and whether some of the 'abnormal' MeSi reflect such partial transpositions[20].

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It is obvious that we have to form an idea of the reliability of the scribes in the writing of MeSi before we try to answer this question. There has been a tendency among Western scholars to mistrust the MeSi; it is generally believed that the MeSi were often added by later scribes[21] who did not care much about what MeSi they inserted and what shape these MeSi got[22].

The stability of the MeSi - that is to say, the reliability of the scribes in these matters - has appeared clearly from an investigation which I made some years ago and which was originally planned for a different purpose. My idea was to collate a large number of versions of one melody, to answer some of the important questions concerning the MeSi. So I found a melody which

10. Cf. above, p.7, note 1.

11. STRUNK, loc. laud., pp. 195-196.

12. ibid., pp. 200-202, with highly instructive footnotes.

13. For the 'transposed' πδ᷾ on c we happen to know, from a marginal note in the Cardiff Stikherarion (cod. Peribleptus) that this was used "ἀπὸ μέλουσ" (cf. below, p.54 with references).

14. In the following I have made use of the exposition in PANAGIOTOPOULOS's manual from 1947 (see above, p.4, note 28).

15. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p. 112 sqq.

16. ibid., p. 111. For the benefit of the reader who is not familiar with the Neo-Byzantine solmisation syllables I add the following illustrative survey:

Πα	Βου	Γα	Δι	Κε	Ζω	Νη	Πα´
D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d

Πα	Βου	Γα	Δι	Κε	Ζω	Νη	Πα´
G	a	b♭	c	d	e	f	g

16a. ibid., p. 132 sq.

17. ibid., p. 122.

18. ibid., pp. 118-123. The three systems can be translated as follows:

(a)	Πα	Βου	Γα	Δι	Κε	Ζω	Νη	Πα´	Βου´	Γα´	Δι´	etc.
	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	
(b)	Πα	Βου	Γα	Δι	Πα	Βου	Γα	Δι	Πα	Βου	Γα	etc.
	D	E	F	G	a	b	c	d	e	f♯	g	
(c)	Πα	Βου	Γα	Πα	Βου	Γα	Πα	Βου	Γα	Πα	Βου	etc.
	D	E	F	G	a	b♭	c	d	e♭	f	g	

19. The difference between STRUNK's "modulation (or transposition) to the dominant or the subdominant" and the μεταβολαί between the three 'systems' of Neo-Byzantine theory seems to be mainly one of terminology. I think that a close examination of a greater material of Byzantine hymns from this point of view would yield some interesting results.

20. These problems will be treated below, passim. On p.101 the reader will find particularly clear material quoted from the 10th cent. Heirmologion Lavra B 32.

21. See below, p.28, note 4.

22. This attitude must partly be due to the data of Tetartos melodies which have often been transcribed in a wrong pitch, resulting in a series of MeSi which certainly had the appearance of being wrong (cf. above, p.10).

was used for three of the Proshomoia for Lent; in each complete Stikherarion the same melody would appear 4 times, with different texts (viz. the three Proshomoia and their model strophe). In the following discussions these four Stikhera will be called by their initial letters:

E: Ἔστησαν τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια (the model, used on Good Friday as the first hymn in ἀντίφωνον θ´ of ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν);

K: Κύριε ὁ σταυρῷ κτείνασ τὸν δόλιον (Proshomoion No.26; cf. MMB Transcripta V, p.30);

T: Τέτρωμαι ἡδονῆσ ρομφαίᾳ κύριε (Proshomoion No.27; ibid., p.31);

Σ: Σήμερον ἐναπέψυξεν ὁ Λαζαρὸσ (Proshomoion No.47; ibid., p.55).

For E I have collated 36 MSS in Round notation (12th-15th cent.). For various reasons some of these MSS do not have the Proshomoia; they are totally absent from Patmos 222, 223, Staurou 30, and Taphos 533 - and only Σ is found in Sinai 1229 and Patmos 226. Thus E is collated from 36 MSS, K and T from 30, and Σ from 32 MSS[23].

When I started to collate these thirty odd MSS, my idea was to group the MSS on the basis of melodic and textual variants - without paying any heed to the MeSi - and afterwards to see whether or not the MeSi did follow this grouping into families. Of course I knew that the MSS which I had collated were only a small fraction of the Stikheraria which have existed[24]; but nevertheless one would expect these 36 MSS to reflect at least the major branches of tradition. After a good deal of fruitless experiments I found that it was impossible to get a clear picture of a MS-grouping. The reason, probably, lies in the stability of the tradition[25]. It is well known that the Stikherarion tradition in this respect differs from that of the Heirmologion. Besides, there is every reason to believe that a scribe who copied a Stikherarion would bring into his copy many variants from elsewhere - e. g. in fixed formulas where he preferred another form than the one found in the model he was using. After all, many melodies - and most fixed formulas - were learnt by heart; hence the oral tradition (and the predilections of a particular scribe) must have played an important rôle in the handing down of the rẽpertoire. In some cases, however, it is obvious that two MSS are closely related. The most conspicuous of these are Sinai 1231 (A.D. 1236) + Vatopedi 1492 (A.D. 1242) and Taphos 533 + Athens 974. But these cases are exceptions. Hence the problem had to be tackled on other lines.

The 36 MSS to which I had access at the time I made the collations[26] date from the 12th to the 15th century (the oldest dated MS is from A. D. 1177, the latest from A.D. 1374) and were written in different places; this material, accordingly, is suitable for statistical treatment. Now, of the 36 MSS five have no MeSi at all (Patmos 219, Sinai 1220, 1229, 1472, and Vatopedi 1499) whereas five have more than 20, i. e. an

23. The collations are found on the folders of Appendix B at the end of this book (pp. 181 sqq.).

24. The exact number of preserved Stikheraria earlier than A. D. 1500 is not known. According to Professor STRUNK's calculations it is likely to exceed 600.

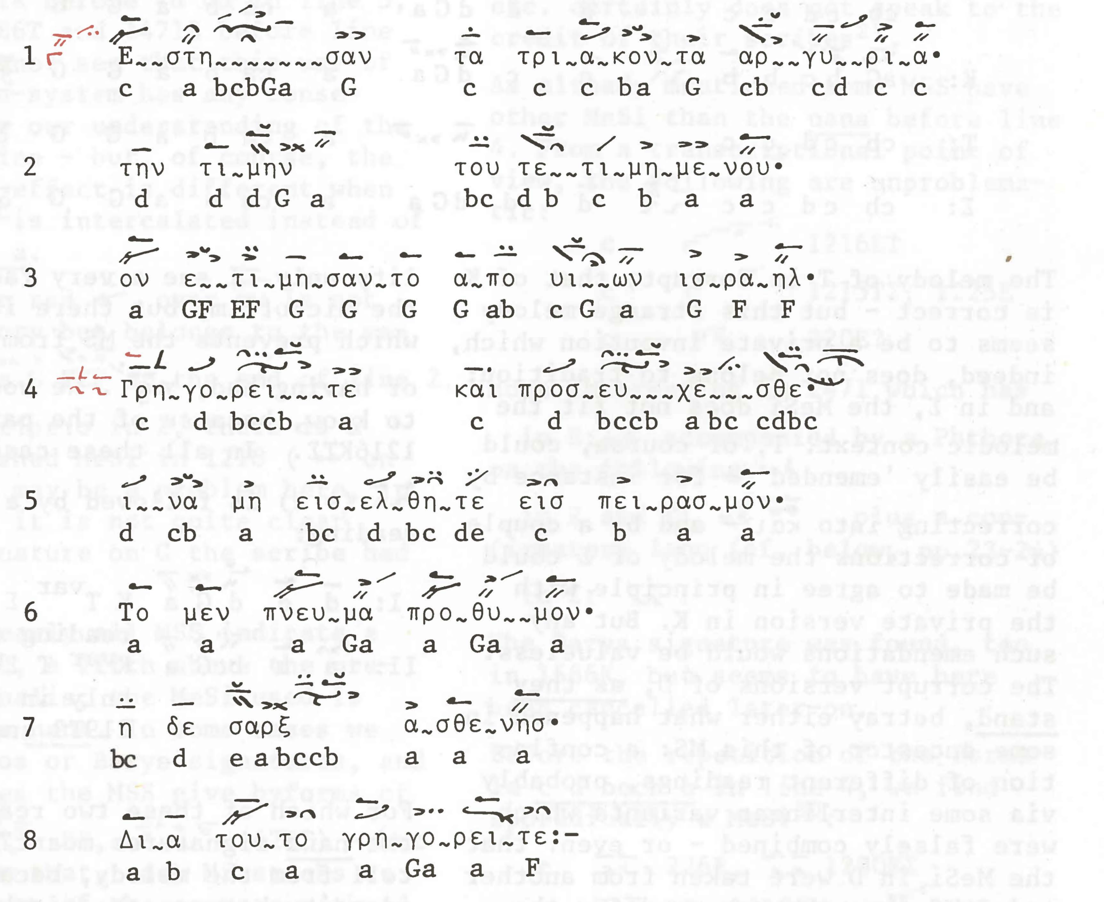
25. MMB Transcripta VII (Pent), p. IX. It is well known that the Stikherarion tradition in this respect differs from that of the Heirmologion.

26. I have not found it necessary to include into the collations the versions from MSS which have become accessible to me later.

average of more than 5 per hymn (Sinai 1218, 1230, 1471, 1564, and 1585). To the latter group must be added Patmos 223 which has 9 MeSi in the model hymn alone[27]. It should be noted that Sinai 1218 (A.D.1177) has 25 MeSi, whereas Patmos 219 (A.D. 1219) has none, and that Sinai 1230 (A.D. 1365) has 20 but Sinai 1229 (A.D. 1374) none. This implies that neither the existence or non-existence of MeSi nor their number is a simple question of chronology.

As a basis for the following investigation I shall now print the version of the model hymn from Sinai 1227, followed by a line-by-line commentary:

Example 1, Ἔστησαν τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια (Sinai 1227,201r):



COMMENTARY TO EXAMPLE 1

LINE 1: All MSS, except 1221T, start with the group . Most of them have a Tritos signature (= c), but Barys signatures (= F) are found in 226EΣ, DE, 1471K, 220Σ, and 1585Σ - mostly as alternative signatures, written by the same hand as the Tritos signature. The Tritos version has the ambitus E-e; if the Barys version were to be taken literally, its ambitus would be A-a, involving B-flat in lines 3 and 8.

MeSi before τά: and equivalents

27. In this MS the Proshomoia are not found.

= c; 1471T has δ = G. The [sign] in 42E is merely a slip of pen.

LINE 2: There is a great variation of melody in the beginning of this line. The following MeSi are unproblematic, at least from a transcriptional point of view: d ġ δ πġ
c [sign] etc., [sign] (1464KΣ).

Problems of transcription in which MeSi are involved:

All four versions in D are more or less curious, as may be seen from the following table:

	αρ-γυ--ρι-α	την	τι-μην	του	τε-τι-μη-με-νου	ον
E:	cb cd c c	d	d dGa	a	ca b a G G	a
K:	aG b c b b	c	c dGa	a	ca b a G G	ġ a
T:	cb cd c c			a	ca b a G G	ġ a
Σ:	cb cd c c	d	d dGa	a	ca b a G G	ġ a

The melody of T is corrupt; that of K is correct - but this strange melody seems to be a private invention which, indeed, does not belong to tradition; and in Σ, the MeSi does not fit the melodic context. T, of course, could be easily 'emended' - for instance by correcting into και - and by a couple of corrections the melody of Σ could be made to agree in principle with the private version in K. But any such emendations would be valueless. The corrupt versions of D, as they stand, betray either what happened in some ancestor of this MS: a conflation of different readings, probably via some interlinear variants which were falsely combined - or even: that the MeSi in D were taken from another model MS than the one used for the texts and melodies[28]. Anyhow, the 'wrong' MeSi in Σ is more valuable for our understanding than a correct one would be.

The other problematic MS is 1216. In E its problem is one of readability only. I see a very faded πġ on the microfilm; but there is nothing which prevents the MS from having, or having had, πġ. We would like to know, because of the parallel case 1216KTΣ. In all these cases the MeSi [sign] (= c) is followed by a double reading:

I: d d dGa K T^{var} Σ (= the reading in E)

II: a a bcG a K^{var} T Σ^{var} (found only in 1464EKTΣ, 219T? and 42T^{var}).

For which of these two readings were the nana signatures meant? We cannot tell from the melody, because of the identity between the pitch of the MeSi and of the preceding finalis, and in the present case there is no palæographical basis for deciding whether the variant was inserted at the same time as the MeSi, or whether it is a later addition.

LINE 3: All MSS, except 1229E and DKTΣ, start with [sign] = a.

28. A clear case of this type in D is mentioned below, p.138, note 124. For parallels from other MSS, see p.29, note 10.

Unproblematic MeSi:

a πġ ġ
G πδ (1585E, before ἀπό).

Problematic MeSi:

In 1216EK we have [sign] on a (similarly in 1231T before line 8). At present unexplainable.

In 1586KΣ and 1471Σ we find ġ on a (similar cases in 1586T before τρωθεῖσ in line 4, in 1586K before line 6, in 1471K before τὰ σά in line 5, and in 1586T and 1471Σ before line 8). I cannot see that this use of the τροχός-system has any consequence for our understanding of the melodic line - but, of course, the aesthetic effect is different when e d c b a is intercalated instead of a G F E D a.

In 42Σ the red [sign] over ον is not confirmatory but belongs to the variant bc a G FEF at the end of line 2.

Before ἐγεῖρεισ in Σ, there is a half finished MeSi in 1218 ([sign] on G); there may be a problem here, in so far as it is not quite clear which signature on G the scribe had in mind.

LINE 4: Nearly all MSS indicate a start on c, a fifth above the preceding finalis; the MeSi used is normally a nana. In some cases we find Tritos or Barys signatures, and three times the MSS give byforms of nana ([sign] DΣ, [sign] 42EΣ) - but apart from that, each MS sticks to its own form of the cc-nana with amazing consistency:

[sign] 533,974,D,30,1218,1224, 1464,1564,1221,223,265,42.

[sign] 883,1227,1484,1230,1585, 1453,1228,1215,1225,1586.

[sign] 1216,1231,1492,40.

[sign] 1471,226.

The confirmatory Ison which according to usual practice should be put over the [sign] at beginning of line 4, is omitted in 1231EKTΣ, 1492EKTΣ, 1586EKT (no MeSi in Σ), 1218EΣ, 1484E, 1225T, 1464E?, 1471EΣ. I take this consistency of 1231, 1492, and 1586 as an indication that the scribes of these three MSS were as careful as the many scribes who put a confirmatory Ison here - whereas the slipshod usage in 1218, 1484, etc. certainly does not speak to the credit of their scribes[29].

As already mentioned some MSS have other MeSi than the nana before line 4. From a transcriptional point of view, the following are unproblematic:

c [sign] 1216ET
c [sign] 1215TΣ, 1225E
c [sign] 220E?

More interesting is 1471 which has

in E: [sign] accompanied by a Phthora on the following [sign]

in K and T: [sign] plus a confirmatory Ison (cf. below, pp.23-24)

in Σ: [sign]

The Barys signature was found, too, in 1586K, but seems to have here been cancelled later-on.

Before the repetition of the formula c d bccb a in line 4, we find sporadically a MeSi[30]:

c [sign] 226E, [sign] 1230KΣ
c [sign] DΣ, 1218Σ; πġ DK
a πġ 223E? ġ 1586T.

29. For the sake of completeness I list the cases which I cannot see clearly on the microfilms:
E: 265, 1564, 1215, 222
K: 1223, 1585, 1230
T: 1223, 1227
Σ: 1223, 220.

30. No MeSi but a [sign] in 1471E.

These cases are quite unproblematic. The nanas are exactly like those discussed at the beginning of line 4 - with one noteworthy difference: they now use the forms [neume] etc., instead of [neume] etc., because of the preceding finalis on a.

Note that 1218 in K ends the figure on νηστεια with [neume] c, a variant which so to speak corresponds to the MeSi [neume] in D.

LINE 5: Nearly all MSS start on d. Few, unproblematic MeSi:

d [neume] 1585ETΣ, [neume] 1564Σ?
c [neume] 223E.

LINE 6: Starts on a in all MSS. Ends either on a or on c:

a: 883,D,40,1227,1484,1221,1223, 1471,1564,1220,1464,1230,42; 1492E,1472EK,1499E,1225KT, 220EΣ,1231EΣ,1218K,219EK, 1229E,30E,226EΣ.

c: 1216,1228,1224,1586,265,1585, 974,1215; 1492T,1472TΣ,1499KTΣ,1225EΣ, 1453ETΣ,220KT,1231KT,1218ETΣ, 219TΣ,533E,223E[31].

Unproblematic MeSi:

a [neume]g ; [neume]g ; [neume] (226E); [neume]g (1586K); [neume] (1218K).

There are superfluous confirmatory Isons in 1216EK, DTΣ, 1225Σ.

Problematic MeSi: A few MSS have MeSi which appear to be simply wrong:

[neume] DK; no variant in lines 4-6 which can explain the MeSi.

[neume] 1225T; unexplainable for similar reasons.

[neume] 1564T; probably intended as [neume]g.

The red [neume] in 42Σ seems to be unacceptable both as variant and as confirmatory group.

LINE 7: In the majority of MSS this line starts on bc. In an astonishing number of cases the readings of the MSS are corrupt, probably caused by an instability in the tradition as to the size of the leap on σάρξ etc.

The fifth-leap is found correctly in about 90 cases; its main forms are bc d e a and c d e a, the former being preferred by 1227,1472,40, 1223,1230,1224,265,1221,1586,1585, 1225,1453,1564,42,883,1499,219?, the latter by 533,974,1218,1215,1228.

The fourth-leap is correctly used in the readings b c d a (13 cases; preferred by 1484 and 1464) and bc d d a, used in T by 1227,220, 1224,42var, and in Σ by 1216,1564, and 1492?.

In corrupt passages the fifth-leap is found in 30E, 1231EΣ, 1492K?, and 265K, the fourth-leap in DK, 220KΣ, 1220KΣ, 1464K[mg]TPC, 1471Σ, and 1215T.

The MeSi are usually placed correctly:

c [neume] ; [neume] ; [neume] (1218K);
[neume] (42T)
a [neume]g ; [neume]g ,

but D and 1585 are of some interest:

D: E
K [neume]g [neume]
T [neume]
Σ [neume]

The MeSi [neume]g is in the other MSS combined, correctly, with bc d e a (1471E,1564K,1585KΣ) or bc d d a (1564Σ); D's model may have had one similar reading, perhaps as a variant. The nana is found in 533E,

31. Uncertain are 222E, 1492KΣ, 1453K, 1229Σ.

223E, 1585E, 42T, and 1218TΣ, mostly combined with c d e a.

NB. It should be noticed that D in line 6 of Σ on ῞Αιδου has [neume] instead of [neume]. That makes line 6 end on b instead of on a - and thus, in a sense, the MeSi [neume] is correct, with line 7 beginning c d e b.

Both MeSi in D are thus not altogether wrong; they both belong in the tradition - and in both cases the real problem lies in a corrupt melody, not in the MeSi.

1585: E [neume]
K [neume]g [neume]
T [neume]
Σ [neume]g [neume]

All four hymns are correct. But in the other MSS (1564KΣ, DK, 1471E) the [neume]g follows upon a finalis on a, whereas 1585 has finales on c (E: [neume], KT: [neume], Σ: [neume]). These finales would, so it seems, demand a nana to lead on to the following bc. So I take the [neume]g in 1585 K and Σ to be MeSi taken from an 'a-tradition' (like 1564) and inserted into the 'c-tradition' of 1585's model.

LINE 8: Most MeSi are unproblematic:

a [neume]g ; [neume]g ; [neume]g (1586T, 1471Σ); [neume] (1218Σ).

Superfluous confirmatory Isons in 1225T and, perhaps, 1216E and 1215T.

Problematic MeSi:

The [neume]g in 1471E and 1225T may both be scribal errors, inadvertedly miscopied from [neume]g [32], and the [neume] in 1564T may be taken for [neume]g (cf.1564Σ) or [neume]g (cf.1586T). As for the [neume] in 1231T, it is a crux, cf.1216EK in line 3.

The signature [neume] at the end of line 8 in 1586T (on the finalis F) is an isolated example of later practice[33], unproblematic from a transcriptional point of view.

☆

In the 123 Round notation versions of ῞Εστησαν and its Proshomoia which are provided with MeSi, there are about 350 MeSi in all. 331 of these are 'correct' (that is, they fit into the tonal system described above, pp.7-8) and 8 are absolutely illegible; some of these eight, however, were in all likelihood correct. 3 MeSi are half-finished, giving only the MeSi-neumes, and 1 is decidedly a mere slip of pen. Only 8 MeSi seem to be 'wrong' (that is, do not fit into the said tonal system). The 331 'correct' and the 8 'wrong' MeSi are shown on the following tables.

32. In a great many hands it is extremely difficult to distinguish clearly between the letter-numerals g and y, and the g of some scribes is almost identical with the y of others. This must naturally have caused almost as much difficulty to medieval scribes as it does to the scholars of modern times.

33. Cf. above, p.5.

Table of the correct MeSi in the 123 ῎Εστησαν-hymns

	Signature		Cases
d	g		2 cases
	δ		7 "
	πg		3 "
c	Γ	and other Tritos signatures	7 "
	—	and other graphical variants of the cc-nana	122 "
	—	and other by-forms of nana	5 "
	y		3 "
	πg		1 "
a	g		38 "
	g		8 "
	Γ		6 "
	Γ		1 "
	πg		122 "
G	δ		1 "
	πδ		1 "
F	y		4 "
			331 cases

Conspectus of the 8 MeSi which do not fit into the system

D: line 2 in Σ: ~~ = d; line 6 in K: y = a

1216: line 3 in E and K: ~~ = a

1215: line 6 in T: δ = a

1225: line 8 in T: πy = a

1471: line 8 in E: πy = a

1231: line 8 in T: ~~ = a

Apart from these eight signatures, we have in the above analysis encountered several cases which are not altogether regular.

Most of the difficulties which we have met can be referred to stock problems of the most common type. In the following I will treat some of these problems in a more systematical way, using - when possible - data from ῎Εστησαν and its Prosho-

moia as illustrations or as points of departure[34].

For the sake of convenience, a distinction will be drawn between two types of problems: (A) cases where the signature or intonation is difficult to understand in itself, (B) cases where the signature or intonation is clear in itself, but does not fit into its actual context.

A. SIGNATURE OR INTONATION DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND IN ITSELF:

1. Illegibility because of bad quality of ink. This, of course, is not a theoretical problem. But it is a phenomenon which deserves mention! Too often, the bad quality of rubrication ink makes the use of a MS highly problematic. The red ink of some scribes has faded away, at times completely[35]; in other MSS the red ink has been too watery, so that it runs; other red inks flake off in a most irritating way.

The difficulties of handling these illegible signatures meet the modern scholar. But it must be taken into account that medieval scribes may have encountered similar difficulties in their model manuscripts.

2. Reading uncertain because of forms of letters or neumes that may be confused.

a. In note 32 (above, p.17) I have mentioned the difficulties caused by the likeness between g and y. In some hands β (ᔕ) and δ (ᔑ) may cause difficulty, too.

b. The hands which write e.g. Oligon and Elaphron in almost the same way (—), or Ison and Petasthe (⌣), are liable to produce signatures or intonations that are difficult to read - especially so, because the reading of signature neumes is less supported by the context than the reading of neumes in the melodic line.

In such cases an even greater possibility of confusion arises from a working technique which was often used, namely to write the signatures in two steps (letter-numerals and neumes written at separate operations)[36]. It is a psychologically well established fact that a scribal working technique akin to our own 'assembly belt technique' is not favourable for the quality of the work.

3. Impossible readings due to a slip of pen.

In Coislin 42, before τὰ in line 1 of ῎Εστησαν, the scribe wrote ~~. From parallels in the same MS it seems certain that he intended to write ~~ ; in distraction he wrote Oligon instead of Tzakisma.

In the Vienna Stikherarion D (MMB I) we find a great many cases of a si-

34. As the number of wrong MeSi in the ῎Εστησαν Stikhera was surprisingly small, I have collated two further Stikhera - Στεφανόσθωσαν (December 13, Eustratios and companions) in the Tetartos mode and ᾽Εξ ῾Ιερουσαλὴμ (Wednesday of Fifth Week of Lent) in the corresponding plagal mode - in order to check the results on modes which for some reason or other are believed to be more 'difficult' than the Tritos. I have collated these two hymns from the 9 MSS that contained most MeSi in the ῎Εστησαν Stikhera. As might have been expected, the number of problematic signatures is greater in these two hymns. In Στεφανόσθωσαν 12 out of 109 signatures do not conform to the normal system, and in ᾽Εξ ῾Ιερουσαλὴμ the corresponding figures are 13 and 94.

35. This difficulty is felt even more when one has to work from microfilms; on the other hand, certain clear sorts of red ink can hardly be distinguished from black or brown ink on a black-and-white film.

36. Cf. below, pp.30-31.

milar kind. As an illustration I have chosen the following:

fol.32v: Γ⁻⁻ʹʹ . This isolated example is obviously a careless writing of the usual Γ⁻⁻⁻ʹʹ ; the scribe forgot one Oligon. (The melody starts on c).

fol.293r (Anast. Anatol. IV. Pl., No.5): [signature], taken by TILLYARD to mean c c b c (MMB Transcripta III, p.98), is no doubt a slip for [signature] (of which more than 25 cases are found in D); it is to be understood as G c b c.

4. Tritos signatures with more than one meaning.

STRUNK, to my knowledge, was the first to see that the signature Γ⁻ʹʹ, which usually means a, is sometimes used for c, too[37]. In the earlier volumes of the MMB Transcripta, TILLYARD and WELLESZ reject all cases of Γ⁻⁻ʹʹ = c as being scribal errors, cf. e.g. Transcripta I (Sept), p.132 and Transcripta V (Oct II), p.37.

The double function of this signature may at times cause the transcriber some difficulty[38]. In many MSS Γ⁻ʹʹ is only used for a, the c being expressed by Γ⁻⁻⁻⁻ʹʹ or Γ⁻⁻ʹʹ, probably because the difficulty of Γ⁻ʹʹ on c was felt also by the Byzantines themselves.

I have not been able to locate actual cases of the c-intonation which is listed by STRUNK in The Musical Quarterly 1945 ([signature]). Its existence, however, is supported by an intonation which is regularly included in the ἠχήματα-lists of the Papadikai: [signature] (cf. WELLESZ, History, 2nd edition, p.413, from Vienna phil.gr.194).

B. SIGNATURE OR INTONATION IS CLEAR BUT DOES NOT FIT INTO ITS CONTEXT:

These problems are far more difficult to handle than those described above, pp.19 sq. There is a marked disagreement in the attitude of modern scholars towards wrong signatures, perhaps most clearly expressed in THODBERG's predilection for the term 'wrong' signatures - which, of course, is intended to mean exactly the opposite.

In the beginning of the present chapter (p. 8) I have already made a brief reference to the hypothesis which THODBERG put forward in 1960, describing a special tonal system which he found in Kontakarian melodies and which seems to consist of conjunct tetrachords only[39]. According to THODBERG, this system is reflected in the recurrence of melodic formulas with fixed intervallic relations at the same place in each of these conjunct tetrachords - but it can be seen, too, in a special usage of medial signatures which seems irregular and abnormal.

For our present purpose another investigation of THODBERG's is more important, a paper on Chromatic alterations in the Sticherarium which was read at the 12th International Congress for Byzantine Studies in

37. The Musical Quarterly 31, 1945, p. 351.

38. Cf. WELLESZ, History, 2nd ed., pp. 301-2: "Not all the interval groups which are added to the number of the mode (Γ) as intonation formulae, give the pitch of the initial note; where they could not be relied upon, the starting note could only be discovered by exhaustive exploration of all the possibilities of the transcription".

39. Since then, THODBERG has developed his theories in a large-scale investigation of the Allelouiaria, described in his thesis (see above, p.4, note 25).

Ohrid, September 1961[40]. THODBERG's points of departure are

(1) that the signatures are graphic abbreviations of intonations,

(2) that the interval relations of the intonations are fixed[41].

His reasoning presupposes, furthermore, that a medial intonation was sung - or could be sung - whenever a medial signature is found. This hypothesis has been worked out in discussions between THODBERG, CARSTEN HØEG, and myself and originated in some observations which I made several years ago; I shall return to this point in Chapter V, below, pp.55 sqq. To exemplify: The signature δ⁻⁻ʹ found on a would indicate that the corresponding intonation should be understood as a G F-sharp E D a (with the same interval relations as in its normal, 'theoretical' pitch d c b a G d). The sharps - or flats - thus postulated in signatures on unusual pitches reflect ("confirm") tonal changes in the musical phrases which precede or follow these signatures.

It is evident that THODBERG's hypothesis deserves our attention[42] - and it seems to be as evident that one has to distinguish carefully between the hypothesis itself and the observations on which it is based. For our present purpose the observations are more interesting than the hypothesis[43].

The material which THODBERG made use of in his Ohrid paper is the occurrence of one cadential formula (a E F E D and a related formula a G F E F G a F E D) in all Plagios Tetartos melodies found in the Stikherarion Sinai 1227[44]. This medial cadence occurs - ending on D, in this mode, in Sinai 1227 - 181 times and is followed by different musical phrases; at times a MeSi is found between the cadence and the following phrase. In his Example 4 THODBERG gives "A survey of the medial signatures after the Anastama formula on D in the 4th Plagal Mode", tabulating the data of Sinai 1227 + eight other MSS with many MeSi. The data of this table are highly interesting, both in detail and when summed up. In the following table, which abbreviates THODBERG's to a minimum, the usages of the different MSS come out clearly:

	Number of medial signatures:			
	normal	abnormal	illegible	total
Sinai 1227	0	6	0	6
Ambros. 733	1	33	1	35
D	4	13	1	18
E.α.V	4	13	0	17
E.α.II	27	19	0	46
Ohrid 56 (65)	16	9	0	25
Sinai 1585	81	28	0	109
Patmos 223	90	7	6	103
Sinai 1218	128	0	4	132
total	351	128	12	491

40. See above, p.4, note 25.

41. I have already (above, p.2) described the hypothesis as to the relations between signatures and intonations, a hypothesis originally put forward by STRUNK.

42. Cf. above, p.4.

43. For a different explanation of THODBERG's material, see below, p.75.

44. This formula, which THODBERG identifies

Thus, of these 491 signatures about 25 % do not conform to the normal system.

This figure may be compared with the findings which I have put forward in the present chapter:

MeSi after 'Anastama' in Plagios Tetartos: about 25 % abnormal
MeSi in Ἔστησαν etc. (Tritos): less than 2 % abnormal
MeSi in Στεφανοῦσθωσαν (Tetartos): about 11 % abnormal
MeSi in Ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ (Plagios Tetartos): about 13 % abnormal

Or, to put it differently: In my material (141 Stikhera; Tritos, Tetartos, and Plagios Tetartos) there are 33 abnormal signatures out of 553. In THODBERG's material (1626 occurrences of internal cadences on D in Stikhera of Plagios Tetartos) 128 abnormal out of 491.

These figures show that the deviating signatures cannot all be taken as simple copyists' errors - though some of them will undoubtedly be simple errors in the copying process - for in that case the percentage of 'errors' would certainly not have varied so much, ranging from less than 2 % to about 25 %.

This conclusion is confirmed by several observations:

a. The 128 abnormal signatures in THODBERG's table are either Tetartos signatures (3 cases of δ˃˃ on D, 14 cases of δ˃˃ on a) or nanas (9 cases of ⁻ᒪ⁻ on a, 3 cases of ⁼⁼ on a, 99 cases of ⁼⁼ on G). Copyists' errors would affect all modes. And while ϑ, ϑ, and δ might be confused by the scribes, I can think of no signature which might be misread as ∿∿, except, of course, a nenano (∿∿); but nenanos in Plagios Tetartos melodies are not frequent.

b. In THODBERG's table Sinai 1218, which is generally considered an incorrect MS, has normal signatures only, whereas Sinai 1227, whose high qualities are undisputed, has only abnormal ones.

c. A majority of the deviations from the usual system deviate according to the same pattern. Thus, in THODBERG's material we frequently find

δ˃˃	a	corresponding to the usual	d
⁼⁼ on	G		c
δ˃˃	D		G

And the most common of the abnormal signatures in the Tetartos Stikheron Στεφανοῦσθωσαν, δ˃˃ on e (5 cases) and ∿∿ on d (3 cases), correspond closely to these, but are situated one fifth higher[45].

These three sets of observations indicate to me that it must be out of the question to maintain that such abnormal signatures are usually due to simple errors in the process of copying. But THODBERG's table shows two further features of importance:

with the Anastama, is found in all eight modes, at different pitches, and seems to have had two forms: a major form (for instance in Tetartos as d a b a G) and a minor form (found, for instance, in Protos as a E F E D). It might perhaps be worth while to mention that the major form in its general flow is akin to some varieties of the Tetartos intonation, for instance d b c b a G (Ashburnh.64,49v).

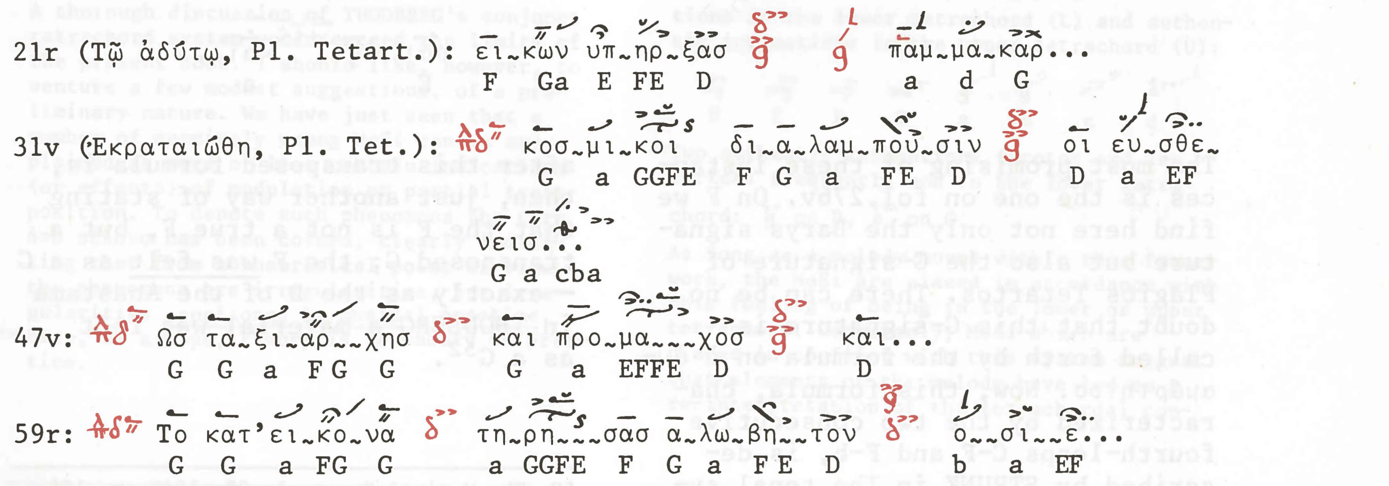
45. My cases of nana on a and G in Ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ are already included in THODBERG's material.

d. The abnormal signature at a given place is never found in a majority of MSS, but only in one or at most a couple of the collated MSS.

e. In Sinai 1227 and Ambros. 733 there are so to speak no normal signatures in the position we are considering, whereas Sinai 1218 has normal signatures only, and Patmos 223 only 7 abnormal out of a total of 103. Of the other MSS, D and E.α.V prefer the abnormal signatures whereas E.α.II, Ohrid 56, and Sinai 1585 have far more normal than abnormal signatures.

These conflicting tendencies are interpreted by THODBERG as being due to a conflict between major and minor forms of the Anastama and related formulas on D in Plagios Tetartos Stikhera[46]. In all probability, however, this is not the final word to be said in this controversial matter. For one thing, we have to ask whether THODBERG's interpretation of the 'wrong' signatures after Anastama etc. on D in Plagios Tetartos Stikhera can be combined with his interpretation of the 'wrong' signatures in the Kontakarion, the latter reflecting a tonal system of conjunct tetrachords[47], the former reflecting a conflict between minor and major forms of Anastama-like formulas. We must also ask whether there might be a connection between THODBERG's 'wrong' signatures - found, usually, in one or a few MSS at a given place - and STRUNK's 'transposed' MeSi which occur more frequently, but only in a restricted number of hymns[48]. Finally, a late- and post-medieval habit of indicating two different MeSi for the same place must be taken into our considerations.

Such double MeSi are quite common in Sinai 1471, a 14th century Stikherarion. Some examples[49]:



46. THODBERG, Chromatic alterations in the Sticherarium, p. 612. In Chapter V (below, p. 75) I shall return to this 'conflict' again, and try to show that THODBERG's material can be interpreted in a quite different way.

47. Cf. above, p.20.

48. Cf. above, p.10.

49. Cf. also below, Appendix B, before line 4 in Κύριε and Τέτρωμαι.

228v (Ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ, Pl. Tet.): g υ‿πο σου προσ φο‿νον εκ‿δο‿θεν‿των
a bc d b c a G a FE D

g τω λα‿ω σου ...
EF a G G

275v (Θωμᾶσ ὁ λεγόμενοσ δίδυμοσ, Prot., Pent. No.7): ο‿θεν και η‿πι‿στει
EF G G G a D

τοισ ρη‿‿θει‿σιν αυ‿τω | εξ α‿πι‿στι‿ασ....
F baG a G F F | F E F a G

↑ end of line in MS

276v (Φιλάνθρωπε, Pl. Prot., Pent. No. 18): ὁ αν‿α‿‿μαρ‿τη‿τοσ αλ‿λα
C F bG a GF F F E

συν‿ε‿‿τι‿σον...
F ab a GF

277v (Μυροφόροι γυναῖκεσ, Protos, Pent. No. 24): ἐν νε‿κροισ g αν‿ε‿‿στη...
E D D a a G

279r (Αἱ μυροφόροι γυναῖκεσ, Pl. Deut., Pent. No. 23): κα‿τα‿λα‿‿βου‿
G GF E

σαι και...
E a

The most promising of these instances is the one on fol.276v. On F we find here not only the Barys signature but also the G-signature of Plagios Tetartos. There can be no doubt that this G-signature is called forth by the formula on ὁ ἀναμάρτητοσ. Now, this formula, characterized by the two consecutive fourth-leaps C-F and F-b, is described by STRUNK in <u>The tonal system of Byzantine music</u>[50] as follows: "The progression obviously calls for the flat which Tillyard supplies and is doubtless to be understood as a transposition of the extremely common pattern g δ ς, properly of Mode II, authentic and plagal."[51]
The Plagios Tetartos signature on F after this transposed formula is, then, just another way of stating that the F is not a true F, but a transposed G; the F <u>was felt</u> as a G - exactly as the D of the Anastama in THODBERG's material was felt as a G[52].

50. <u>The Musical Quarterly</u> 28, 1942, p. 194, note 10.

51. i. e. D - G - c.

52. In his Ohrid paper THODBERG states this in a more cautious way: The 'wrong' signatures "are found only in connection with a formula which <u>may</u> be regarded as a transposition"(p. 612; my underlining). Cf., however, ibid., p. 610 (on the 'wrong' signatures in Sinai 1227): "The signatures consider the Anastama formula on d as a transposition of the same formula normally found on g". In my opinion one ought to pay more attention to the undeniable fact that the Byzantines <u>felt</u> the 'reinterpretation'.

In later theory such phenomena are described as partial modulations[53] and the term ἀπὸ μέλουσ is sometimes used to distinguish these from modulations ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ[54]. The two terms ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ and ἀπὸ μέλουσ are also occasionally used for double signatures like those from Sinai 1471, usually in the form of marginal notes[55]. As for STRUNK's 'transposed' MeSi, I have already pointed out that they, too, are labelled ἀπὸ μέλουσ by late sources[56].

If we now return to the examples of double signatures in Sinai 1471, we shall notice that all instances from Plagios Tetartos Stikhera occur after formulas of the same type as those discussed by THODBERG in his Ohrid paper. Does it not lie near at hand, then, to conclude that the Byzantines felt these major forms of Anastama etc. to be partial modulations into the Tetartos mode?

A thorough discussion of THODBERG's conjunct tetrachord system would exceed the limits of the present book. I should like, however, to venture a few modest suggestions, of a preliminary nature. We have just seen that a number of seemingly wrong MeSi can be explained as more or less certain indications (or effects) of modulation or partial transposition. To denote such phenomena the term ἀπὸ μέλουσ has been coined, clearly indicating that from a theoretical point of view the phenomena are irregularities, but irregularities <u>sanctioned by musical practice</u>. Here, as always, theory is secondary to practice.

Behind all these secondary systematizations - STRUNK's[57], THODBERG's[58], KOUKOUZELES's τροχόσ[59], the Neo-Byzantine[60], etc. - lies the tetrachord of musical practice, in which each of the four <u>maneriae</u> has its fixed place[61].

It is well-known that the modern reconstructions of the 'tonal system' are based, among other things, on a study of occurrences of MeSi. Now my point is that we ought, perhaps, to feel differently about the MeSi[62]. Instead of taking a MeSi ỹ to mean "We are now in the Deuteros mode" or even "We are now on a G", I would advocate that this MeSi be interpreted to mean "If you want to intercalate a medial intonation here, the νε α νες will be suitable". With this interpretation in mind, we are not only able to reach valid conclusions about the tonal system; we are also in a position to tell how the Byzantines interpreted the organization of their melodies from a tetrachordal point of view.

The 'normal' organization of two tetrachords is obviously I II III IV I II III IV, constituting an octave with half-tone steps between II and III and a whole tone between IV of the lower tetrachord and I of the upper tetrachord - and, we may add, with conjunct extensions at both ends[63]. In this octave the Byzantines normally sing plagal intonations in the lower tetrachord (L) and authentic intonations in the upper tetrachord (U):

D E F G a b c d

Two authentic intonations (Protos and Tetartos) frequently end in the lower tetrachord: g on D, δ on G.

As long as a melody moves within this framework, the MeSi are placed in accordance with this feeling of being in the lower or upper tetrachord. Conversely, MeSi which are placed in conflict with this system suggest that elements of the melody have led to a re-interpretation of the tetrachordal con-

53. Cf. below, p.45.

54. For these terms, see below, pp.44-46.

55. E. g. in Sinai 1251, 13v and 310v.

56. Cf. above, p.10, note 13.

57. See above, pp.7-8.

58. See above, p.8.

59. See below, pp.51-53.

60. See above, pp.10-11.

61. See above, p.9.

62. The following is based on the results reached below in Chapter V (pp.66-74).

63. This is described in modern theory as the Diapason system (cf. above, p.11) and corresponds to STRUNK's tonal system (see above, pp.7-8).

text: While actually moving in U, a singer (or the composer!) could feel himself to be in L - or vice versa - and accordingly L-MeSi will appear in U or U-MeSi in L. In both situations there is a possibility that the feeling may extend to the neighbouring tetrachords, leading to real transpositions of part of the melody.

The Byzantine theoreticians were quite aware of the ambiguity of their music: Even in untransposed melodies, formulas which are bound to a specific step in the tetrachord may reappear in distances of a fifth (in L and U), an octave (in L and its reiteration above U), and a fourth (in U and its upward extension or in L and its downward extension). In transposed sections of a melody the same may happen again - and if a formula is used both in the transposed and the untransposed sections, it may occur on still more pitches. In all this, however, the occurrence at fifth-distance remains the most commonly realized musical expression[64]; and apart from the occurrence at fourth-distance in U and its upward extension, the other 'fourth-displacements' were considered less normal. I deduce that from a curious digression in the late MS Athens 968, 167r. In a paragraph on τριφωνία the anonymous author has just stated καὶ ὁ μὲν πλάγιοσ τοῦ δευτέρου [= E] τρίφωνον ἔχει τὸν πρῶτον [= a], καὶ ὁ πλάγιοσ τοῦ πρώτου [= a] τρίφωνον ἔχει τὸν τέταρτον [= d, with b-natural below] ὅσ φθοριζόμενοσ ἀποτελοῖ τὸ νενανὼ [= d, with b-flat below]. He explains this from "an old rule" which says "πᾶσα τριφωνία τὸν αὐτὸν ἦχον ποιεῖ" and is at pains to show that this rule is applied differently in different situations: Ἐνταῦθα βεβαιοῦται καὶ ὁ παλαιὸσ ἐκεῖνοσ κανὼν, ὁ λέγων· πᾶσα τριφωνία τὸν αὐτὸν ἦχον ποιεῖ ἔν τε ἀναβάσει καὶ αὖθισ ἐν καταβάσει· οὐχ ὁμοίωσ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ πάντα· ἀλλὰ ποτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ μέλο<υ>σ· ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ παραλαγῆσ· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν οὕτωσ· ποτὲ δὲ ἄλλωσ· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ μέλουσ μόνον, ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ παραλαγῆσ μόνησ.....

The phenomena of transposition and modulation in medieval Byzantine music need to be studied further before a general agreement between scholars can be reached as to their age and range. A reconsideration of THODBERG's 'tonal system of the Kontakarion' would probably lead to some modification and would, perhaps, make us see the peculiarities of these melodies in the light of partial transposition or partial modulation. STRUNK and THODBERG have shown that the MeSi play an important rôle for such studies. Hence, until a thorough understanding of the mechanics of transpositions and modulations is reached, open-mindedness towards the deviating MeSi seems the best course.

Apart from MeSi used in more or less legitimate transpositions (whether or not we fully understand their function and implications) there are - presumably in every MS - cases where a MeSi does not fit into its context. The reason seems necessarily to be one of three. Either the MeSi is wrong or the context is corrupt - or neither MeSi nor context is correctly transmitted. In the Ἔστησαν Stikhera we have met examples of all types[65]. It would be quite easy to extract a great number of similar cases from the commentaries in the volumes of the MMB Transcripta; but as each case would have to be considered separately, a demonstration would take far too much space. It might, however, be useful to put forward some considerations of a more general character:

1. MeSi wrong, context correct.
Such cases may tell us something about the genesis of the MS in question. An isolated occurrence of a wrong MeSi is, of course, less use-

64. Cf. the generalization in Koukouzeles's τροχὸσ which consists of an infinite series of disjunct tetrachords.

65. Cf. for instance the corrupt melody of D in Τέτρωμαι, line 2, which - as it stands - makes line 2 end on a instead of on G and thus places the rest of the MeSi in this hymn one step too high. Indubitably wrong MeSi must be sought among those listed above, p.18.

ful to us in this connection than a number of cases, which (when combined) might reveal the reasons of the mistakes. The result of an investigation of such details would reveal whether the MeSi were copied incorrectly from the model - or correctly, but from a different model! - or whether they were inserted independently of any model, according to false notions on the part of the scribe.

2. Context wrong, MeSi correct.
If the MeSi are correctly copied from the model, but the scribe made some neumatic errors in copying the melody (either simple scribal errors or false combinations of melody and variants from the model), we would have situations similar to those which I have described in the Ἔστησαν commentary, ad lines 2 and 7 - both places concerning the readings of D, cf. above, pp.14 and 16-17.

These cases ought to indicate that the MeSi were copied from the model. But the possibility remains that the writer of MeSi worked independently of the model and for some reason or other was not misled by the neumatic error, e.g. from his knowledge of the melodic formulas in the surroundings[66].

These few general remarks on discrepancies between melody and MeSi have shown how important it is to study the origin of a given MS in order to understand the peculiarities of its MeSi. The basic - and crucial - question is: Were the MeSi copied (more or less correctly) from a model, or were they put in by the scribe (again more or less correctly) according to his own ideas or those of his superiors?

This question will be treated at some length in the next chapter[67].

66. Incidentally, such errors are probably often more intensely felt by the modern transcriber. See HØEG's excellent paragraph on "CORRECTIONS" in MMB Transcripta VI (Hirm I), pp. XL-XLIV.

67. Below, pp. 31-33.

CHAPTER III. CODICOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

The question which the present chapter will try to answer is in itself quite simple, as it is mainly a question of working technique:

How, i.e. by whom and under which circumstances, were the indications of ἦχοσ and ἤχημα written down?

Ideally, this investigation ought to be part of a general study of the production of Byzantine musical MSS[1]. For our actual purpose, however, it will be more profitable to detach from the whole complex those elements that have a direct bearing on our subject, reserving a comprehensive study of the genesis of Byzantine musical MSS for future treatment[2].

It has often been observed that the MeSi in many MSS are 'squeezed in' at places where no space was allotted to modal indications[3]. This situation has led TILLYARD and other students of Byzantine musical MSS to mistrust such MeSi, for the natural reason that the 'squeezing-in' is considered to indicate that the MeSi were later additions, of questionable origin and reliability[4].

In view of the consequences of this explanation it is of some importance

1. Investigations of codicological details can only be made on the MSS themselves; microfilms and photostats are insufficient substitutes on which to study different shades of ink, erasures, and other minutiae. On various occasions I have had the opportunity to study Byzantine musical MSS in the great collections of Munich, Vienna, Oxford, Paris, Madrid, Escorial, Jerusalem, Ohrid, Messina, Grottaferrata, Florence, and the Vatican. The following developments are in the main based on observations made on the spot; only occasionally do I make use of MSS which I do not know from autopsy.

2. Cf. my short paper on The Production of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts (Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantines. Tome II, Beograd 1964, pp.601-606.

3. Cf. the description of the Dalassenos Stikherarion (MMB I, Introduction, p.24): "Dans notre manuscrit, ces martyries [i.e. the MeSi] ont souvent été ajoutées après coup; cela est évident là où elles sont intercalées avec difficulté à des endroits où le scribe, en écrivant le texte et les neumes, n'avait pas laissé d'espace libre pour elles et où un ison a été ajouté au-dessus de la neume suivante à l'effet de préciser la valeur de la martyrie comme point de départ du motif mélodique qui la suit. Dans d'autres manuscrits, l'aspect même de ces signes prouve, dans plusieurs cas, qu'ils datent d'une époque plus récente, mais dans le nôtre, ils ne diffèrent pas du style ordinaire et nous n'en pouvons pas déterminer l'auteur".

4. For TILLYARD's view in general, see the following quotations: "The medial signatures were usually put in by a later hand in extant MSS of the Middle Byzantine era" (Handbook, p.32); "The evidence of these [medial] signatures, often added by later scribes, must not weigh against the neumes, when the latter are clear" (MMB Transcripta VII (Pent), p.IX); "Many of the medial signatures [of the Grottaferrata MS E.α.II] are wrong; but most of them are later than the first hand" (MMB Transcripta II (Nov), p.XV); "Variants, medial signatures, and some Intonations have been added by a not much later hand" (MMB Transcripta III (Oct I), p.XXIII, a propos Athens 974).

to point out that the argument from the squeezed-in MeSi is not valid.

Even in the Dalassenos Stikherarion - in which the MeSi are certainly fitted in where there was no space allotted to them - a detailed analysis of the rubrication technique shows with certainty that the MeSi were written by the original team of rubricators[5].

As for E.α.II, TILLYARD's dating of the MeSi is not correct[6]; they were undoubtedly written by Symeon, the head scribe of the MS[7].

Of Athens 974, to take the third of the MSS mentioned above (note 4), I have only seen a microfilm. On the black-and-white pictures no difference in shade sets the squeezed-in MeSi and the variants apart from the rest of the rubrication. Furthermore, the red musical variants of Athens 974 are also found as red variants in the related MS Jerusalem Taphos 533; this shows that the variants, which are written by the same hand as the MeSi, belonged to the Athens MS from the very beginning[8].

It is not necessary to give further examples, though it would be quite easy to quote other MSS where the squeezed-in MeSi demonstrably belong to the original product[9]. I do not deny the existence of MSS in which MeSi have been added by later hands. It is only the argument from the squeezed-in MeSi which cannot be upheld.

What, then, made the scribes so frequently 'forget' to leave room enough for the MeSi? There is no standard answer to this question; each MS must be studied by itself. In some cases it can be shown with more or less certainty that the MeSi were not taken from the MS which usually served as a model, but were copied from another source[10]. But more often we get the impression that the squeezed-in MeSi should be explained psychologically. In Palæobyzantine musical MSS the MeSi are usually placed in the lines of neumes, even when they were written together with the text before the neumes of the melodies were added[11]. In the subsequent period, the traditionalism of the scribes kept this 'classical' position of the MeSi, after the introduction of the broad and bold Round notation which left less space for the MeSi. The new style of notation could have led to a new technique in these matters - either to a transferring of the MeSi to the lines of text, or to a more deliberate spacing at the places

5. The rubrication work in this MS was done by three scribes, Johannes Dalassenos and two assistants; cf. the analysis of the production of gatherings 24-31, given below in Appendix A (especially pp.168-169). For the uneven distribution of MeSi in D, see below, pp.136-137.

6. Cf. above, p.28, note 4.

7. Even though E.α.II has no formal indication of scribe, the ductus (especially in neumes and MeSi) leaves no doubt that the MS was written by the Symeon who copied Ashburnham 64 and also E.α.V. The identification was made years ago by IGNAZIO PECORA (according to STRUNK, The Antiphons of the Oktoechos, Journal of the American Musicological Society 13, 1960, p.56, note 14). During my stay in Grottaferrata in 1962 I reached the same conclusions, without having the findings of Father IGNAZIO in mind.

8. Cf. above, p.12, and below, in Appendix B.

9. E. g. Ashburnham 64; cf. HØEG's introduction to the facsimile edition (MMB IV), p.24, note 3.

10. As examples the following MSS may be cited: E.α.II (according to TILLYARD, MMB Transcripta II (Nov), pp.141-142; cf., however, ibid. p.XV, quoted by me above, p.28, note 4); Sinai 1585 (cf. above, p.17); D (cf. above, p.14, and below, p.138, note 124).

11. Only in a few Palæobyzantine MSS are the MeSi written in the lines of text, for instance in Paris Suppl. Gr. 33.

where MeSi were to be inserted. Apparently, however, the majority of scribes stuck to the old notion of the proper place for the MeSi, even though more practical devices might have been found[12].

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For the notation, many scribes used a pen which was broader than the 'text-pen'. This broad 'neume-pen' was not only used to write the black or brown neumes of the melodies; it was also used, in a number of MSS, to write the red neumes of intonations and signatures (both MSi and MeSi). In such MSS the signatures were thus made in two stages, even when they were written by the same scribe.

Other MSS are the result of a collaboration between several scribes. Also in these MSS there are signatures written in two stages; but we must now envisage the possibility that the two stages were carried out by two different scribes.

Occasionally, a series of coincidences enables us to see that the two components of a signature were not taken from the same model MS[13].

In all three situations just described the signatures were written in two stages: (a) letter-numerals, (b) tail-neumes. Of these the letter-numerals were usually written before the tail-neumes; but the opposite is also found - e.g. in the Palæobyzantine Paris Gr. 356 where the MSi-neumes were written with the same brown ink and at the same time as the melodies, whereas the red MSi-letters were added afterwards, together with the rest of the rubrication[14].

Whether the two elements in the signatures were written by the same scribe (using two pens, a text-pen and a neume-pen) or by two scribes (text-scribe and neumator), each may occasionally have been left out by mistake. This accounts for unfinished signatures of two types: sporadic, 'undifferentiated' signatures[15] and sporadic signatures that consist of neumes without letter-numerals[16]. Of these two types, the latter is in a way the more interesting, since it shows how strongly some scribes at times felt about the esthetical aspect of their work - or, perhaps: that they felt obliged to respect esthetical rules that were part of copyists' traditions and training; the missing letter-numerals had to be written with text-pen, even if it meant that the signatures had to be left unfinished for some time.

Parallels to this attitude can be adduced also from the work of the melody neumators, in cases where they had to write musical signs for syllables which had been forgotten by the text-scribes. Thus, the neumes for the missing syllables in D, fol.138v, were written in the margin, obviously to be provided with text later-on. (In this particular case, however, the words were added by the rubricator).

Other scribes had no such inhibitions - or did not live up to their

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12. As to the traditionalism, cf. DIDRON's pointed statement, that "l'artiste grec est asservi à ses traditions comme l'animal à son instinct. Il fait une figure comme l'hirondelle son nid ou l'abeille sa ruche". This is true also of the scribes.

13. In my paper at the Ohrid Congress (cf. above, p.28, note 2) I showed that some strange signatures in Paris Gr. 270 were due to the scribe's momentary use of another model; the neumes of these signatures were taken from the ordinary model manuscript.

14. The order of confection can be seen, for instance, on folios 28v, 51r, and 61v, where the rubricator forgot to write initial letters and MSi-letters.

15. E. g. the MSi in D, foll.156v-157r and 208v (last Stikheron).

16. For examples, see above, p.15 (from Sinai 1218) and below, p.138 (from D).

ideals. If letter-numerals were left out by mistake, such scribes would write the whole signature with their neume-pen[17].

To complete the present survey of scribal habits as displayed in connection with the writing of signatures, it should be mentioned that neume-pen as well as text-pen can be used for signatures which are written in one tempo. Also, that many scribes follow no definite procedure[17a].

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On the preceding pages I have dealt with situations where an understanding of copyists' habits and of copyists' traditionalism can remove some false notions about the modal indications, especially about the MeSi. Two of these notions in particular may lead scholars to place unduly low value on the medial signatures: (a) that the MeSi are often later additions, and (b) that the scribes were not too accurate in these matters.[18]

However, the question which was put at the beginning of the present chapter is not yet fully answered. It was suggested that the MeSi were at times taken from another source than the one which ordinarily served as model[19] - but this, of course, cannot reasonably have been the normal source for the MeSi. Normally they must have been either taken from the model MS or inserted by the scribes themselves without a written model. In formulating this alternative we have touched on an extremely intricate question, which seems to be as important for a real understanding of the MeSi as it is difficult to answer.

Ideally, the problem should be studied in a number of MSS of which the immediate models were known. An examination of such pairs of models and copies would enable us to form an idea of the freedom or dependency of the scribes in these matters. Unfortunately, however, it has not yet been possible to locate MSS of this type. It will therefore be of interest to examine in some detail the few cases which come closest to the type we are looking for:

(a) In the Stikherarion Ottobonianus Gr. 380, the beginning of the Menologion (September 1.-2.) is found on folios 1-3 + 10r. A later copy of these pages - made for unknown reasons, perhaps intended as a replacement - is still preserved, actually inserted between folios 3 and 10 of Ottobonianus Gr. 380 and counted as folios 4-9. Within the same binding we thus have model + copy of a few folios. In this copy, the signatures and medial signatures have obviously been taken directly from the model[20]. In doing so, the scribe deviated in some details from the usage of his model:

1. A few confirmatory Isons were omitted.

2. The word ἦχοσ is in the model

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17. An interesting case is provided by Paris Gr. 270, foll.80r-80v. In my Ohrid paper (cf. above, p.28, note 2) I have described this place in details, using it to demonstrate that the text-scribe and the neumator of the Paris MS were two different persons, who worked in a scriptorium. Parallel behaviour of melody neumators can again be adduced from D, cf. the examples listed in the facsimile edition (MMB I), introduction, p.20, note 3.

17a. For details from D, see Appendix A.

18. For a statistically supported rehabilitation of the average scribe, see above,pp.11-17.

19. Cf. above, p.30.

20. One MSi and one MeSi have been left out by mistake; there are no extra MeSi in the copy.

always abbreviated . In the copy the word is usually written as , but the usage of the model is at times preserved.

3. The unusual <u>nenano</u> of the model (for) is copied faithfully on fol.5v; but on fol.7v it is combined with the normal form (probably the one which scribe 'B' was used to) to make up the impossible .

(b) In the Psaltikon Ashburnham 64, written A.D. 1289 in Grottaferrata by Symeon Rakendytes, some parts were not written by the same hand as the rest of the MS. These parts were taken by HØEG to be the work of an assistant of Symeon's[21], a hypothesis which has since been refuted by BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO in his review of the facsimile edition[22]. Father BARTOLOMEO points out that the parts due to the so-called 'amanuensis' are <u>later</u> additions to Symeon's MS. In November 1962 I spent some hours in the <u>Laurenziana</u> to check Father BARTOLOMEO's results, and after a careful scrutiny of the folios in question - especially the upper part of fol.124r - I could fully accept his view[23].

The way in which the Kontakia for Holy Week (folios 117r-124r) were added, was described by Father BARTOLOMEO as follows: "Prima che l'amanuense aggiungesse il nuovo repertorio, al f.116v seguiva immediatamente l'attuale f.124. Quando si è voluto inserire la nuova parte, si è diviso il libro raschiando la prima metà pagina del f.124 e scrivendo la parte cancellata all'inizio del complesso dei fogli aggiunti, attuale f.117." (<u>loc. laud.</u>, p.61). This reconstruction is based i.a. on an examination of the parchment of fol.124r[24]. It is confirmed by very faint traces of the original writing on fol. 124r: the first group of neumes on the page (; cf. 117r, line 1) and small <u>residua</u> of red ink from the MeSi (corresponding to the MeInt on 117r).

From BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO's wording "raschiando la prima metà pagina del f.124 e scrivendo la parte cancellata" it is not possible to see what model he thinks the scribe used for the first five lines on fol.117 (the end of the Palm Sunday Kontakion). Let us for a moment consider this small problem! There are two possible models to be considered:

1. The scribe copied from the first lines on fol.124r <u>before</u> they were erased;

2. The copy was made from the source where the scribe found the Holy Week Kontakia (i. e. the Kontakia which he wrote on the folios now numbered 117-124).

Any choice between these two possibilities must be based on an analysis of the five lines on 117r. In these lines there are details that could be adduced in favour of both solutions. As THODBERG points out in his description of Ashburnham 64, <u>MeInt</u> are constantly used by the 'amanuensis', also in these lines, whereas Symeon normally used <u>MeSi</u>. THODBERG takes this identity in treatment of the medial intonations

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21. MMB IV, Introduction, pp.13 sqq.

22. <u>Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata</u> 14, 1960, p.55 sqq.

23. They are also confirmed by differences in the musical style, cf. THODBERG's thesis, Ch. II, paragraph 4.

24. ibid.: "Basta porre il f.124 in posizione orizzontale contro luce per vedere la differenza fra la parte inferiore non raschiata, perciò liscia e lucida, e la parte superiore rugosa e opaca perchè raschiata".

to reflect directly the source from which the 'amanuensis' copied his Kontakia, and is consequently of the opinion that the end of the Palm Sunday Kontakion was taken from this source, not from fol. 124r. On the other hand, there is at least one point where the neume 'orthography' in the ending of the Palm Sunday Kontakion resembles Symeon's orthography and deviates from the one used by the 'amanuensis' on the following folios (117-124): In an overwhelming majority of cases, the 'amanuensis' writes in situations where Symeon prefers the more old-fashioned ; but in the first lines on 117r the 'amanuensis' constantly (3 times) has . Although this is formally speaking no conclusive argument - since the 'amanuensis' occasionally uses the form without Oligon - I take it to be a very strong support for the hypothesis that the ending of the Palm Sunday Kontakion was copied from Symeon's original text on fol. 124r. To me it is almost certain that Ashb.64 contains both model and copy for these few lines[25].

For our present concern the MeInt which the 'amanuensis' wrote in the first lines on 117r have now gained in interest, since they show that the 'amanuensis' followed his own ideas in this matter and did not reproduce mechanically the MeSi of his model[26]. Besides, they show that the 'amanuensis' understood Symeon's MeSi as short symbols for intonations to be sung[27].

Neither the 'amanuensis' in Ashburnham 64 nor the scribe of Ottobonianus Gr. 380, folios 4-9, have added MeSi or MeInt of their own invention. Of course, this does not mean that <u>all</u> scribes were similarly dependent on their model MSS. A considerable number of scribes must have had the possibility of inserting or leaving out MeSi according to their own ideas or to those of their superiors[28]. For instance, many of the MeSi which THODBERG discussed at the Ohrid Congress were probably inserted after the 'Anastama'-formulas without MS authority[29].

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Since STRUNK's authoritative demonstration of the rules which govern the relation between intonation and opening phrase[30], these phenomena have been studied intensely, e. g. by MARZI and THODBERG. Now, it is well known that for some opening patterns different intonations are equally appropriate. Thus, to take a simple and typical example, the beginning of the Ascension Stikheron

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25. On 117r-124r the Oligon-form is used 41 times, whereas the other form is only found in the ending of the Palm Sunday Kontakion (121v line 8) and on 123v line 11. To THODBERG, who has drawn my attention to this difference between the two neume hands, the argument from the written-out MeInt is decisive.

26. Cf. MMB IV, Introduction, p.32, note 1. HØEG's reasoning ibid. p.34 is, however, founded on a wrong interpretation of the genesis of the MS (see above, p.32).

27. For other arguments in favour of this interpretation of the MeSi, see below, pp.55-64.
It may be added that even if we follow THODBERG's explanation of the MeInt on 117r (namely, that they were taken over from MeInt in the model), the shift from MeSi to MeInt in the course of the Palm Sunday Kontakion would be most curious, unless the 'amanuensis' felt no real difference between the MeInt of <u>his</u> model and Symeon's MeSi on the preceding folios.

28. In this connection it may be pointed out that we know of several MSS which were written by 'specialists', e. g. Patmos 220 (διὰ χειρὸσ ἰωάννου εὐτελοῦσ <u>πρωτοψάλτου</u>...) and Sinai 1231 (διὰ χειρὸσ νεοφύτου ἱερομονάχου <u>καὶ δομεστίκου</u>...).

29. Cf. above, pp.21-23, especially p.23.

30. Cf. above, pp.2-3.

Τὴν καταβᾶσαν φύσιν τοῦ Ἀδάμ (<u>MMB Transcripta VII</u> (Pent), p.93) is written as follows in the three MSS used by TILLYARD:

D, 266r: Την κα‿τα‿βα‿σαν φυ‿σιν του α‿‿δαμ
G G bc d c d c b cd d

A, 299v and N, 87v:
G G bc d c d c b cd d

In some MSS it is quite common to find for one piece both intonations and a double incipit corresponding to the two intonations or signatures. In Paris Gr. 262, fol. 21v, a Stikheron for St. Pelagia (October 8) has the following opening:

Ο‿‿‿‿που επλεονασεν.....
G d d

The rubricator provided the Stikheron with two MSi (δ›› and δ››‿) and added a red ⁒ over the initialis ›››. The two openings δ››‿ + ››› and δ›› + ⁒ are probably to be understood as alternatives. This is supported by the fact that the whole rubrication (the two MSi and the initium variant) was written at the same time; nothing suggests that δ›› + ⁒ was meant to supplant the δ››‿ + ›››.

The same Stikheron is also in D (MMB I,34r) provided with two MSi and a double opening. Here, however, the opening phrase starts ⁒‿‿⁒ (like the alternative reading in Paris Gr. 262) and the alternative opening is, a little incorrectly, given as a red ›› (not ›››); the intonations are prescribed in the following way: δ››‿ ἄλλ δ››. Here, too, the codicological data are not in favour of taking δ››‿ + ›› as a correction, an explanation which is also forbidden by the very order and wording of the prescription; a correction of a signature to a Tetartos melody whose opening is written as ⁒‿ would be formulated δ›› ἄλλ δ››‿, not δ››‿ ἄλλ δ››.

Double MSi are not altogether rare[31]. Usually both signatures belong to the same mode, cases of modal fluctuation or instability being comparatively rare[32]. At present we shall only consider these signatures from a codicological point of view: Sometimes palæographical details show that one of the two MSi must be a later addition. But quite often both belong to the same <u>stratum</u>. In the latter case the natural inference would be that they were both taken from the model MS - although one cannot exclude the possibility that a diligent scribe could supply signatures from elsewhere (from a MS

31. On folios 1-100 of Paris Gr. 262 I have counted 9 cases; in Paris Gr. 264, folios 1-100 there are at least 12 cases. Other examples from D are listed in the introduction to the facsimile edition (MMB I), p. 23, note 2. Cases from Ashburnham 64 are discussed by HØEG in the introduction to MMB IV (pp. 30-31).

32. Examples from D: 134v Φέροντεσ τὰ παρόντα γενναίωσ (ἄλλ , same hand); 215r Τὸ ὕψοσ τῶν ἀρετῶν (ἄλλ , same hand). The first of these reflects an old difficulty (cf. below, p.88); in the Coislin notation Stikherarion Ohrid 53, Φέροντεσ carries the prescription (Mesos Deuteros).

kept at hand for purposes of control - or from local tradition, without any model MS?) - and, as already pointed out, they are most likely to be understood as alternatives[33]. If, however, the MSi do not belong to the same <u>stratum</u>, the later of the two must be meant either as a correction or as an alternative[34].

For some unknown reason, the scribes seem to have committed more blunders in connection with alternative MSi and MSi-corrections than elsewhere. Mostly, however, it is only a question of small inaccuracies that do not prevent us from grasping the intention of the scribes - yet we cannot but wonder what made them make these mistakes. A few examples:

<u>Paris Gr. 262,43v:</u> Ε‿πρε‿πεν τη βα-
G d d

σιλιδι. Over the initial neume there is a red ›› , corresponding to the MSi δ››‿ - but there is no MSi that corresponds to the initial Ison.

<u>ibid.,46v:</u> Κα‿λουν‿τι χριστω. Over
G d d

the initial Ison there is again a red ›› ; but this time the only MSi (δ››) corresponds to the Ison, not to the alternative initialis[35].

<u>Paris Gr. 264, 7v:</u> Η απ‿αρ‿χη. Two
D C D a

MSi (ꝙ and ꝙ), but no alternative ›› corresponding to the a-signature. In D, fol.7v, we find the same initial neumes and ꝙ ; to the right of this signature some neumes seem to have been erased, probably ⸝ ; in München, cod. Gr. 471, 8r, there is an initialis alternative (››) and an a-signature, but no D-signature corresponding to the initial ⸗ .

<u>Paris Gr. 262, 53v:</u> Ο πρω‿το‿κλητοσ.
C D a

MSi ꝙ (same ink). Over the initial neume a red ›› . Strictly speaking, the alternative opening should be transcribed [ꝙ] D E b, an impossible reading. We cannot decide whether the scribe wanted to preserve the <u>C D a</u>-opening (in which case he ought to have written ⸗ , not ››) or whether he had a different opening in mind (D D a) and merely forgot to add a red Ison over the second syllable.

The signature of the last example (ꝙ) resembles the double signatures in H (MMB II), described by HØEG in his Heirmologion transcriptions[36]. In HØEG's opinion the original signature for D-openings in this MS was ›› ; but "very shortly afterwards" a corrector transformed this system into ››‿ plus D-opening, at the same time changing the neumes above the first syllable of the text "in such a way that the real starting note remained the same". The difference in <u>ductus</u> between the two layers of signatures and initial neumes, however, is so small that for my part I do not hesitate to take both layers to be the product of the same scribe - even though the a-signatures were certainly added separately. On fol.13r it can be seen directly that the double signa-

33. Of the two intonations used before G-openings in Tetartos melodies (δ›› and δ››‿) the G-intonation is perhaps the original one, cf. below, p.87.

34. Faced with an actual case we thus have to consider both possibilities.

35. In both cases D has a d-signature and initialis ›› (folios 56v and 60r).

36. <u>MMB Transcripta VI</u> (Hirm I), pp.XXXI-XXXII.

tures were not written at the same time; here (and on many other pages) the two signatures obviously do not make one graphical unit.

Still it is, of course, not impossible that the a-signatures and the corresponding initial neumes should be understood as corrections, intended to replace "obsolete signatures" (HØEG's expression). But it is more simple to take them to be alternatives, added as an afterthought (or inspired by contact with another musical tradition?). In any case, the codicological circumstances make it highly improbable that both sets were found in the same model MS.

In Kanon I,6,η´ (Αὔτη ἡ κλητή, H fol.5v) the initialis variant has been misinterpreted by HØEG, with a most curious result. According to HØEG's commentary (MMB Transcripta VI, p.243), the two signatures to this Heirmos have a "corresponding double opening: and ; a stupid man has added above as if it was a signature". Now, a comparison with parallel cases (e.g. 6r Χεῖρασ and 18r Ἴδετε) shows clearly that the alternative opening is , corresponding to ; in other words the whole neume group on the first syllable was changed, not only its beginning. Furthermore the writing of the alternative opening on fol.5v is exactly the same as that on fol.6r. What misled HØEG was probably a purely accidental detail: The ink did not run as abundantly from the pen at the end of the alternative opening as it did at the beginning (bad dipping!).

I have spent so much time on this isolated case not only to acquit the scribe of a false charge of stupidity, but also to show the effects of misinterpretation of palæographical details. The "stupid man" has disappeared completely, and in his place we find our usual scribe, for once dipping his pen somewhat carelessly.

The double signatures in H are not only found in the Protos Heirmoi; in Deuteros they are quite frequent (see e.g. folios 22-24), and on fol. 74v there is an example from the Tetartos section. According to HØEG[37]

37. ibid., p.XXXII.

double signatures are found also in the Plagios Protos Heirmoi, "in some cases, but not nearly as regularly as for the First Mode". I have not been able to locate any case of this type in H.

In no mode, however, are alternative openings prescribed in all the possible cases. As already mentioned, HØEG thought that the added signatures were the work of a corrector. In concordance with this view, HØEG explained the occasional lack of double signatures and openings as being due to "mistake or because the corrector disregarded some Hirmi as having fallen into disuse"[38]. This explanation is now open to dispute; if the double signatures were meant as alternatives, no completeness is to be expected.

The peculiar habits of some scribes make it sometimes impossible to draw a clear distinction between signatures and intonations. In Paris Gr. 355, for instance, the modal indications quite frequently consist of letter-numerals plus all the neumes of the intonation melody:

45r ; 49r ; 57v (MeSi) ; etc. It is a matter of definition whether such indications be viewed as signatures with superfluous neumation or as intonations without intonation syllables[39].

Of the reverse phenomenon (intonation syllables provided with signature neumes) I know only one example, Paris Gr. 270, 87v, where a Tetartos

38. ibid., p.XXXI note 29, where a misprinted reference to I,23,ε´ and ς´ is to be read "I,3,ε´ and ς´".

39. Incidental MeSi of this type are also found in D, cf. below, pp.55-56.

intonation is indicated in the following way: ἄαγια. I have already, at the Ohrid Congress in 1961, shown that this curious indication is due to the methods employed by the text-scribe and the neumator who collaborated on the rubrication of this MS; at this particular place the text-scribe for a short time could not

use his normal model manuscript[40].

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The signatures in München Gr. 471 are also due to a collaboration between a text-scribe and a neumator. Occasionally the text-scribe spells out the numerals, and the neumator has to normalize:

153v text-scribe: Δεύτερος , neumator:

184r text-scribe: ὁ αὐτός , neumator:

On fol. 50r the two scribes produced the Barys indication (again, in a slightly different form, on fol. 85r). I have seen a similar treatment of the Barys in Escorial Ω-IV-12 (e.g. 123r, 123v, 127v), in Ohrid 54 (inv. 61) p.71, and in Paris Gr. 270 (36r and 222r).

This way of writing the Barys may be nothing but a graphical variant, a kind of conflation of signature and intonation[41]. In Vatican Gr. 1562, however, we find on fol. 78r a Barys intonation where the intonation melody is undisputably to be sung on the word βαρύσ, not on the usual syllables ααεσ:

ὑα α α α α α ρυς.

F GFG aGa b GaGF EF GEF

In the light of this case from Vatican Gr. 1562 the above-mentioned Barys intonations gain in interest, though their implications are still open to dispute.

What is more, we cannot exclude the possibility that intonations of other modes were sung in the same way, with the numerals used as intonation words. This idea, which at first seems rather odd, finds some support in actual cases such as

Paris Gr. 265, 52r: δεύτερος:-

Paris Gr. 270, 23v: ἦχ τρίτος

and, perhaps, in the wholly abnormal formulation used in Vatican Gr. 1562, fol. 57r:

ἤχοσ ἐκ πλαγίου πρότου Κυ-ρι-ε ο βα-σι-λευσ...

F E D D E F ab

Furthermore, this is not without modern parallels. Several 19th century Typika from Mount Athos prescribe that the modes be announced before the singing, for instance

Dmitrievski III, p. 541 (A.D.1813): Ὅταν δὲ εἰπῆ ὁ β´ χορόσ· Ὅτι ἐκραταιώθη τὸ ἔλεοσ αὐτοῦ, ὁ κανονάρχησ· ἵσταται ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ ναοῦ προσκυνήσασ τρίσ, λέγει τὸν ἦχον τοῦ δοξαστικοῦ. Ὅταν δὲ ἄρξηται ψάλλειν τὸ Δόξα.....

ibid., p. 562 (A.D.1841): τοῦ κανονάρχου ποιήσαντοσ μετάνοιαν εἰσ τὸν χορὸν τὸν ποιοῦντα τὴν ἔναρξιν, καὶ τὸν ἦχον ἐκφωνήσαντοσ.....

ibid., p. 673 (A.D.1851): εἶτα ὁ κανονάρχησ, ἱστάμενοσ εἰσ τὸ μέσον, λέγει τὸν ἦχον πλ. β´, καὶ ψάλλουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὸ Δόξα καὶ νῦν μόνον, εἶτα ἀναγινώσκει μεγαλοφώνωσ τὸ Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου.....

40. Cf. above, p.30, note 13.

41. A clear conflation is seen in D, cf. below, p.56.

I have heard such announcements - a monotonous "ἦχοσ πρῶτοσ" etc. - on a tape brought back from Mount Athos by CARSTEN HØEG some years ago; and from ARNE BUGGE and GUDRUN ENGBERG I learn that similar monotonous announcements are still used in Russia and on Patmos.

The phenomena which I have just described may throw some light on details of intonation singing, but apart from the Barys quoted from Vatican Gr. 1562, the material does not warrant any definite conclusion. All my examples may just as well be graphical conflations.

☆

The last question to be treated in this chapter is of a purely graphical order. The first Alpha of the Protos intonation is in the Dalassenos Stikherarion occasionally written exactly as the stylized letter-numeral of the Protos signature (MMB I,32r: ἢ ɡ ι ὑ ᾶ ὑἑ c ; cf. 220r). This detail in itself might indicate that the rubricator had originally planned to provide the two pieces with signatures; as an afterthought he then decided to write a full intonation instead. Numerous examples from other MSS, however, show that intonations of this type are not due to sudden decisions about replacing signatures with intonations. They are rather to be considered as a kind of scribal jokes, originating in the double function of Alpha as letter and as numeral - and in the fact that the sign for the intonation syllable <u>ne</u> (ῳ) resembles a Beta (ʮ). Here are some examples:

Sinai 1231, 45v: ἢ ɡ ι ὑ α ὑεε , cf. 55v, 60v, 95r....
Ohrid inv. 61, p.2: ἢχ ʮ α ὑc, cf. pp. 5, 10, 71, 78...
Sinai 1231, 46v: ἢ ʮ α ὑεc, cf. 37v, 38r, 47v, 61r...
ibid., 70r: ἢ ɡ ὑ α ὑ, cf. 63v, 105r, 133r, 139r...
Ohrid inv. 61, p.24: ἢ πʮ ε α ὑc, cf. pp. 24, 98.....
Sinai 1231, 47r: ἢ πʮ α ὑε, cf. 64v, 105v, 137v, 175r...

If these jokes originated in the mind of one scribe, they must have become common property for a good many centers of manuscript copying. This assumption is confirmed by a curious detail in Sinai 1231: For the Barys intonation the scribe normally writes ἢ ῳ α ὑε (54v, 72r, 88v, 130r....). The abbreviation of the word βαρύσ (ῳ) has here been allotted the same function as the ɡ and the ʮ - namely to carry the initial neumes of the intonation melody. But the Barys abbreviation has not the slightest to do with the Alpha of the intonation word ἀανέσ! The scribe was obviously not aware of the amusing reason for the shapes of the Protos and Deuteros. He just knew that some intonations could be written in this way (as a special refinement, he would perhaps think) and deduced from them a rule of his own: That the first neume group of the intonation melody be put over the signature letter and that the first intonation syllable be replaced by this letter.

The mentality of this particular scribe seems also to be responsible for his strange rendering of the Plagios Protos intonation (always ←⁄̄'›› etc. instead of ←⁄'›› etc). He obviously stuck to this impossible form, once he had got it into his head - or rather: into his fingers! - almost like a certain Dane who stubbornly persists in abbreviating the Danish word "følgende" as <u>fgl.</u>, in the firm belief that he is writing the universally accepted abbreviation <u>flg</u>. Both the Dane and the scribe of Sinai 1231 would probably, if asked, be unable to offer any reasonable explanation of their habits.

CHAPTER IV.
SIGNATURES AND INTONATIONS IN THE THEORETICAL AND DIDACTIC TEXTS

In a previous chapter I have briefly touched on the problematics of the theoretical writings on Byzantine music: With a few noteworthy exceptions they are so late that they perhaps reflect post-medieval conditions only[1]. Besides, a critical edition of the didactic literature is still a <u>desideratum</u>. However, enough material is accessible to enable us to make at least a rough sketch of the rôle played by signatures and intonations in such texts[2].

For the sake of clarity, the present chapter is divided into two parts. In the first I shall give some idea of the information on signatures and intonations which is to be found in these texts. The second part deals with the didactic use of signatures and intonations. Neither part, it must be stressed, aims at completeness.

INFORMATION ON SIGNATURES AND INTONATIONS.

<u>a. Forms and shapes of ἠχήματα:</u>

In various connections the theoretical texts include renderings of intonation formulas. Thus, to mention only one well-known example, MSS of the Papadike most often give a long list of intonations, arranged according to modes and coupled, usually, with hymn incipits. There exist several printed editions of such ἠχήματα-lists, but until now no critical edition[3].

A systematic inventory of the forms of intonations given in these lists would probably be worth making. At the 10th International Congress for Byzantine Studies (Istanbul, 1955) I pointed out that variation in intonation 'bodies' might be due to lo-

1. Cf. above, p.10.

2. The most comprehensive edition of theoretical texts is found in LORENZO TARDO, <u>L'antica melurgia bizantina</u>, Grottaferrata 1938, pp.145-260.

3. To STRUNK's list in <u>The Musical Quarterly</u> 1945, pp.341-342 we can now add WELLESZ, <u>History</u>, 2nd ed., Oxford 1961, pp.411-415, where the list from Vienna, cod. phil. gr. 194 is transcribed and references are given to the facsimile edition of the Dalassenos Stikherarion (MMB I).

cal habits. This hypothesis still needs further support; but a detailed study of the various redactions of the ἠχήματα-lists from this and other points of view cannot be undertaken until the material has been published in the planned Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica.

At times the texts mention different opinions as to the correct shape of an intonation. From the 17th cent.MS Athens 968, fol. 64v, I quote the following illustrative example:

῾Ο τρίτοσ ἐνηχίζεται οὕτωσ ἴα α ἀ α ἴα ἅ ἅ α. Τινὲσ μὲν καταβαίνουσιν τέσσαρεσ, καὶ ἀναβαίνουσι τέσσαρεσ, ἀλλ' ἄγνωστον μὲν καὶ χωρικόν. σὺ δὲ οὕτωσ ἐνήχιζε τὸν κύριον τρίτον· εἰ δὲ εἴπῃ σοί τισ, ὃ οὐ διαφέρει πρὸ τοῦτον· ὅτι κατάγει τέσσαρασ, γίνεται βαρὺσ· καὶ πάλιν ἀνάγει τέσσαρασ, γίνεται τρίτοσ, καὶ εἶναι τάχα, ὡσ ψιλὸν τεχνικόν· ἄκουσον· ἔστι παντί, καὶ οὐδεὶσ τῶν μουσικῶν καὶ ἀληθῶσ τεχνίτων τοῦτο ποτὲ παραδέχεται.

A most perplexing description of the intonations is found in the Hagiopolites (Paris Gr. 360, 226v-227v):

'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν οἱ ἦχοι κέκτηνται πρὸσ ἀλλήλουσ θαυμαστὴν ἐν ταῖσ ὑποβολαῖσ τῶν φθόγγων αὐτῶν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
5 δυσωποῦσιν ἅπαντεσ ἐν ταῖσ ἑαυτῶν ἐκφωνήσεσιν. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο οὕτωσ ἔχει, δῆλον ἐντεῦθεν:
῾Ο πρῶτοσ ἦχοσ πέντε φωνὰσ ἔχει ἐνήχημα. ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆσ ὑπορροῆσ
10 [τῆ]σ δευτέρασ αὐτοῦ φωνῆσ αἱ ἐφεξῆσ τρεῖσ φωναὶ συναπτόμεναι ταύτῃ[4], ἤγουν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, τὸν ὑφειμένον πρῶτον ἀποτελοῦσιν ἦχον, ὃν πλ α´ λέγομεν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη
15 αὐτοῦ φωνὴ συνεπιλαμβανομένη καὶ τὰσ ἐφεξῆσ δύο, τὸν δεύτερον ἦχον ἀποτελεῖ· ὥστε εἶναι[5] τὸν πρῶτον ἦχον κατά τε[6] τὸν τρόπον γεννητὸν[7] τοῦ δευτέρου ἤχου καὶ
20 τοῦ πλ α´ : ἡ γὰρ μέση αὐτῶν φωνὴ κοινή ἐστιν ἀμφοτέροισ. 'Εκ πέντε φωνῶν τοίνυν ὁ πρῶτοσ ἦχοσ ἐστίν.
῾Ο δὲ δεύτεροσ ἦχοσ ἔχει φωνὰσ
25 τρεῖσ· καὶ ἐκ τῆσ δευτέρασ αὐτοῦ φωνῆσ ὁ πλαγιδεύτεροσ[8] ἦχοσ ἀποτ[ίκτετ]αι κἀκεῖθεν συνίσταται, πλὴν μετὰ τοῦ ἐνηχήματοσ[9]· εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὕτωσ ἐνηχήθη, πλ α´ ἦχοσ
30 εἰσάγεται, διότι πολλὴν κοινωνίαν ἔχουσι πρὸσ ἀλλήλουσ ὁ πλ α´ καὶ ὁ πλ β´ ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πρῶτοσ μετὰ τοῦ δευτέρου· ὡσ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ τὰ πληρώματα καὶ αἱ ἀπο-
35 θέσεισ τοῦ δευτέρου ἤχου εἰσ ἦχον πλ β´ ἀποδίδονται.
῾Ο δὲ τρίτοσ ἓξ φωνὰσ ἔχει, καὶ ἐκ τῆσ τελευταίασ αὐτοῦ φωνῆσ ὁ βαρὺσ ἀπάρχεται.
40 ῾Ο δὲ τέταρτοσ ἐκ πέντε φωνῶν ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν· ἐξ ὧν τῆσ πρώτησ καὶ ἐπιτετραμένησ ἀφαιρεθείσησ ὁ μέσοσ τέταρτοσ γίνεται· μέσοσ δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐν μετε-
45 χαίῳ εἶναι, καὶ ὡσ μεσιτεύει ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἤχῳ καὶ τῷ πλ δ´ ὁ μέσοσ τέταρτοσ, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖσ λοιποῖσ.

I do not understand the whole of this description. But in the parts which I think I understand, there is information of considerable interest. In the phrases which describe the Enechemata, the author seems to be speaking both of the actual shape of the intonation formulas and of

4. αὔτη MS.

5. ὡσ ἵνα MS.

6. Read perhaps τοῦτον (τε MS).

7. γεννητὸσ MS.

8. πλάγει δευτεροσ MS.

9. Read perhaps ἐπηχήματοσ (or ἐπιχήματοσ).

their ambitus. Thus, the description of the Protos and the Tetartos fits the intonation formulas a G F E D (Protos) and d c b a G (Tetartos). But when the text speaks of the Tritos as having six steps, this cannot describe the number of notes in the intonation formula - which even in the short form c c b c G a b c has eight notes - whereas the number six corresponds well to the ambitus c-E of the standard intonation c c b c G a GFE F G a. On the other hand the details in lines 8-23 and 40-43 show that a sequence of notes is referred to. A possible way out of this impasse is that the Byzantines did not express ambitus in terms of leaps (a fifth, a sixth, etc.) but by indicating the steps which 'filled out' the leap.

At the end we meet the expression μέσοσ τέταρτοσ. From lines 41-43 we get the impression that there is a connection between Mesos Tetartos and the pitch of the nana (c), whereas lines 44-47 seem to reflect the later terminology which uses Mesos Tetartos for the pitch midway between the Tetartos (d) and its Plagal (G), i.e. for b, the pitch of the Deuteros[10]. In a few old musical MSS we occasionally find Mesos Tetartos as modal indication for Plagios Tetartos melodies starting on c - for example Ohrid 53, p.469, Τὴν ψυχωφελῆ has ἦ μ´ Δ as modal indication[11].

The demonstration of the Protos as being put together of Deuteros + Plagios Protos (lines 8-21) is probably to be rendered as follows: "The first mode has five steps as intonation [a G F E D]. The three steps which follow in downward stepwise movement upon the second of these [F E D, following after G] constitute the lower first ἦχοσ which we call Plagios Protos. The third of its steps [F], when combined with the following two [G a], constitutes the second ἦχοσ [F G a]. The Protos is thus a child of the Deuteros and the Plagios Protos, the middle step being common to both".

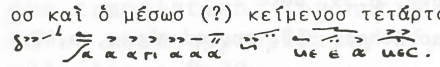
This idea could be expressed in the diagram

```
Deuteros
┌──────────┐
a    G    F    E    D
          └─────────┘
          Plag.Prot.
```

The equation between a G F and b a G (the normal position of the Deuteros) does not seem to be against Byzantine modal feeling, as the interval relations are the same in both cases.

b. The intonation syllables:

Several treatises contain speculations about the meaning of the enigmatic words ἀνανεανές, νεάγιε, etc. On this point they are following a very old tradition. In the Leipzig manuscript of Constantine's Book of Ceremonies[12] there are, on fol. 153, two lexica with fanciful explanations of the mysterious words of the so-called Gotthikon[13]; among the words 'explained' are also the intonation words ἅγια (explained as meaning φύλαττε) and νανά (interpreted as σῶσον δὴ σῶσον, or Θεέ Θεέ,

10. Cf. Lavra 1165, 13v: οὕτωσ δὲ ἔνι ὁ κύριοσ καὶ ὁ μέσωσ (?) κείμενοσ τετάρτου:


11. This Stikheron is reproduced below, pp. 68-69, from Sinai 1244. For the prescription Mesos Tetartos in old non-musical MSS, see KENNETH LEVY, A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week (Journal of the American Musicological Society 16, 1963) p. 132, note 22.

12. Leipzig, Bibl. mun. 28. I extend my heartiest thanks to the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris for having kindly put a microfilm of this unique MS at my disposal.

13. Cf. the Budé edition of the Book of Ceremonies, by ALBERT VOGT, tome II, Paris 1939, p.186. The Gotthikon is found ibid., pp. 183-185 (Book II, Chapter 92(83); fol. 152r).

or Θεοῦ Θεοῦ)[14]. A more modest attitude was displayed by a ninth cent. Greek who, when asked by Aurelianus of Réomé about the meaning of the intonation words, respondit se nihil interpretari, sed esse apud eos lætantis adverbia[15].

All these 'explanations' seem to be deduced from the likeness between the intonation word for the Protos, ανα-νε-ανεσ, and the phrase ἄνα ναὶ ἄνεσ ("LORD, forsooth, forgive")[16]. Once more, Athens 968 shows that the Greeks themselves did not fully agree about this explanation: Ἠκούσαμεν δέ τινασ λέγοντασ, ὅτι τὰ τῆσ μουσικῆσ ἄσματα φράσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ παίγνια καὶ τραγωδίαι καὶ ληρήματα, ἅπερ οὐκ ἔστι. Τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστι, ἀλλ' ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτὰ λέξιν καὶ φράσιν· καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν δόξα ᾄδεται καὶ ἀναπέμπεται τῷ Θεῷ (Athens 968, 88v. The expression τὰ τῆσ μουσικῆσ ἄσματα is unusual, but the context leaves no doubt that the usual intonations are meant).

c. Terminology:

"These intonation formulae were called Echema (ἤχημα), Apechema (ἀπήχημα), or Enechema (ἐνήχημα)". I quote this phrase from the second edition of WELLESZ's History (Oxford 1961, p.304), but similar short statements could as easily be taken from a good number of other modern books or articles on Byzantine music. A lexicographical study of these and other terms for "intonation formula", however, still has to be made. Until the whole corpus of Byzantine theoretical treatises has been printed and the chronology and relations of the texts have been studied, no definitive sorting of these synonyms can be undertaken. But even now a few observations might be of some interest.

The expression ἐ ν ή χ η μ α is found in the oldest theoretical text preserved, the Hagiopolites. In the texts edited in TARDO's L'Antica Melurgia[17] it is found in the treatise from Vatican Gr. 872 (TARDO, pp.166 and 167) and in the long treatise ascribed to John the Damascene (ibid. pp.215, 216, 217, 218). The same two treatises make use of a corresponding transitive verb ἐνηχίζω - e. g. TARDO, p.166: Ὁ δεύτεροσ πῶσ ἐνηχίζεται; Νεανέσ, and p.210: ἅμα γὰρ ἐνηχήσῃσ στιχερόν τι, εὐθὺσ γνωρίζεται καὶ τὸ μέλοσ τοῦ μέλλοντοσ ψαλθῆναι στιχεροῦ[18].

The simple form ἤ χ η μ α is used in the ἠχήματα-lists[19]. It is also used by Gabriel Hieromonakhos (TARDO p.198) and at one place in the Pseudo-Damascene treatise, which usually has ἐνήχημα (ἤχημα appears three times on p.217).

As for the third form, ἀ π ή χ η μ α, it is only found once in the texts edited by TARDO[20]. I have not been able to locate the ultimate sources of WELLESZ.

The word ἐ π ί χ η μ α (ἐ π ή χ η μ α) seems to belong to the same tradition as the sources which favour the term ἐνήχημα for "intonation". I have found it in the Hagiopolites and in TARDO p.226. The latter text clearly uses the word ἐπηχήματα for nana and nenano; and although the Hagiopolites passage is not altogether clear, it implies a similar distinction. The lines in question run: Λέγομεν τοίνυν περὶ ἐνηχημάτων καὶ ἐπιχημάτων· καὶ ἐνηχήματα μέν εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ἤχων ἐπιβολαί· ἐπηχήματα δὲ ἡ προσθήκη τοῦ ἐνηχήματοσ, καὶ κατιοῦσα καὶ συναρμοζομένη τῷ φθόγγῳ τοῦ μέλλοντοσ προενεχθῆνα[ι τὴν ψ]αλμωδίαν· ὡσ ὅταν μετὰ τὸ ἐνήχημαν λέ[γομεν] ναὶ λέγε καὶ ναὶ ἅγιε ναναχ (?) καὶ ὅσα τούτοισ ὅμοια (Paris Gr. 360, fol.226v).

14. For intonations prescribed in the Book of Ceremonies, see below, pp.114-115.

15. GERBERT, Scriptores I,42. For later Latin explanations, see LUCAS KUNZ, Ursprung und textliche Bedeutung der Tonartensilben Noeane, Noeagis, Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 30, 1935 ('36), pp.13-14.

16. Cf. below, p.43.

17. Cf. above, p.39, note 2.

18. Cf. also Athens 968, quoted above, p.40.

19. Cf. e. g. TARDO, pp.156,176,178. Some MSS have the by-form ἤχισμα, e. g. Athens 2444, Lavra 1656, Vatopedi 1530, Sinai 1294. Cf. also below, p.79.

20. p.226, note 3, as a variant reading for ἐπιχήματα.

In the texts edited by TARDO it quite often happens that the word ἦ χ ο σ itself is used instead of the derivations ἤχημα or ἐνήχημα.

Sometimes it is difficult or impossible to tell exactly whether an ἦχοσ means "mode" or "intonation"[21], but there are clear cases also. I am thinking of such passages as

TARDO, p.166: καὶ καθὼσ πάντεσ οἱ χριστιανοὶ κἂν μικροῦ ἔργου βουληθῶσιν ἀπάρξασθαι, προηγεῖται τούτοισ ὁ στίχοσ· ἤγουν τὸ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸσ ἡμῶν... καὶ τὰ ἑξῆσ, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον καὶ ἡμεῖσ <ὅταν> ὀφείλομεν ψάλλειν τι, προηγεῖται τούτοισ ὁ ἦχοσ.

ibid., p.210: Ἐρώτησισ· Διαφέρει ἦχοσ τοῦ μέλουσ; Ἀπόκρισισ· Ναὶ διαφέρει· ὁ μὲν ἦχοσ πρωτεύει τοῦ μέλουσ καὶ οὐ δύναταί τισ μελίσαι τὸ τυχόν, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ἐνηχήσῃ αὐτοῦ.

In the passage from the Hagiopolites which I quoted above, p.40, the term ἦχοσ is used for "mode" in lines 8 and 35; but in the other occurrences the translation "intonation" seems to be more appropriate, cf. especially lines 8-23. Finally, the word ἦχοσ is sometimes used for "signature". In the passage from Gabriel's treatise which I quote below, p.45, we have one of the most clear cases; another is to be found in the quotation from Chrysaphes (below, p.46).

The usual word for "signature" is said to be μ α ρ τ υ ρ ί α. I have looked in vain to find Belegstellen for this term; it seems to belong exclusively to modern (Chrysanthine) terminology where it is in common use[22].

d. Information on the use of intonations (and signatures):

Δεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἡμᾶσ ψάλλειν ἢ διδάσκειν ἄρχεσθαι μετὰ ἐνηχήματοσ. ἐνήχημα δέ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ ἤχου ἐπιβολή· οἷόν τι λέγω ἄνα ναὶ ἄνεσ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄναξ <ναὶ> ἄνεσ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὀφείλει ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰσ τὸν θεὸν καταλήγειν. This is, so to speak, the 'classical' description of the use of intonations. I have given it in the oldest form which survives, from the Hagiopolites (Paris Gr. 360, 216v), but similar statements occur in many of the late treatises[23].

21. It might even be that it is we who, in distinguishing between "mode" and "intonation" violate the Byzantine way of thinking.

22. Cf. below, p.153, note 166.

23. Cf. e. g. TARDO, p.166 (from Vatic. gr. 872), p.210 (from Lavra 1656), and p.215 (also from Lavra 1656). In the second edition of his History, p.304, WELLESZ gives a translation from the latter, unfortunately not altogether clear. Μετὰ ἐνηχήματοσ means "with an intonation". The answer to Τί ἐστι τοῦτο must rather be rendered "This is a praiseworthy and very useful beginning, and listen (admiring the man who put forward this beginning [i. e. the inventor of the intonations or the intonation syllables]): The Anane anes is a prayer, this is to say Ὦ ἄναξ...".
In the concluding Greek phrase, the uncorrected misprint of TARDO's (καὶ ἄνεσ instead of ναὶ ἄνεσ) spoils the ingenuity of this "explanation".

Apart from the explanation of the mysterious intonation word (cf. above, p.42) the passage gives several pieces of useful information. It is interesting, for example, that a double function is ascribed to the intonations: they are used not only in actual hymn singing (ψάλλειν) but also in the training of singers (διδάσκειν). The last phrase of the quotation, if taken at face value, seems to imply that intonations were used both initially (cf. ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἄρχεσθαι in the beginning of the quotation) and at cadences (καταλήγειν[24]). But perhaps it is merely a pious expression which has no relevance for actual practice, though it may also be an allusion to singing of medial intonations.

The expression "ἡ τοῦ ἤχου ἐπιβολή" is usually taken to mean "the layout of the mode"[25]. In view of the parallel between the Greek ἐπιβάλλω or ὑποβάλλω and the Latin imponere, this interpretation can hardly be maintained[26]. The expression ἡ ὑποβολή (or ἐπιβολή) τοῦ ἤχου may for the present be taken, somewhat vaguely, to mean "the intoning of the mode", until a comparative lexicographical study of the Latin and Greek terms has prepared the ground for a more precise understanding[27].

e. Modulation:

Some theoretical treatises describe transition from one mode to another within a given melody. These phenomena of modulation do not in themselves belong to the matters to be treated in the present book. But as they are reflected also in the placing of MeSi, I have felt it necessary to include a few paragraphs on modulation in this chapter[28].

The best starting-point is the Prooimion of Manuel Chrysaphes's famous treatise On the Phthorai (TARDO, pp. 230 sqq., esp. pp.235-236). In these preliminary remarks Chrysaphes obviously distinguishes between two types of modulation (ἐναλλαγή[29]).

The first of these is said to be ἀπὸ παραλλαγῶν. Even if we did not know this expression from elsewhere, Chrysaphes's own description would make its meaning quite clear: "If you go one step [upwards] from the Protos, you always find the Deuteros; if you go two steps, you find the Tritos; if you go three steps, you find the Tetartos....." The Parallage is thus the basic knowledge of the relative

24. In the musical terminology this word means "to end", that is to rest at cadences, cf. PANAGIOTOPOULOS's manual pp.127 sqq.

25. Cf. WELLESZ, History, 2nd ed., 1961, p. 309: "The Martyria, therefore, is an abbreviation of a passage of transition from the finalis of the verse to the initium of the melody of the hymn. But, we may add, it is also, according to Byzantine musical theory, the "layout" of the mode of the hymn; i.e. it gives the principal intervals of the melodic structure of the mode". Cf. ibid., p.304 in the translation from Lavra 1656.

26. The treatises vacillate between ἐπι- and ὑπο-, see e.g. TARDO, p.166 (ἡ τοῦ ἤχου ὑποβολή), p.210 (ὑποβαλῶν τὸν ἦχον), p.215 (ἡ τοῦ ἤχου ἐπιβολή). If the MS-tradition of the Greek translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great is sound (MIGNE, PL 77,377-378: antiphonam imposuit ~ τὸ τροπάριον ὑπέβαλε),the ὑπο-form is the earlier attested, probably 8th century (cf. STRUNK, The Antiphons of the Oktoechos (Journal of the American Musicological Society 13, 1960), p.50, note 4). DUCANGE: "imponere Psalmum, Litaniam, est eorum cantum incipere, et quo vocis sono decantari debeant, designare".

27. In classical Greek ὁ ὑποβολεύσ is i.a. the prompter in a theatre. Among the functionaries of the church in Alexandria the church historian Socrates (MIGNE, PG 67,636B) mentions ὑποβολεῖσ, taken by GOAR (according to DUCANGE s.v.) and SCHLÖTTERER (Die kirchenmusikalische Terminologie der griechischen Kirchenväter, München 1953, p.10) to be the Kanonarchs of the time.

28. Cf. also above, pp.10-11 and 25-26.

29. WELLESZ, when using this text in his History, calls the modulation παραλλαγή (2nd edition, 1961, p.310).

position of the modes[30]. It is the nearest we get to our "scale" and involves a counting of the size of the interval between the two pitches in question[31]. A modulation ἀπὸ παραλλαγῶν, according to Chrysaphes, is not a Phthora.

His second type is a Phthora. The description runs: "When the first mode is sung κατὰ λόγον and it is εἰσ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ and you want to ποιῆσαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσ δεύτερον ἢ τέταρτον ἦχον, this is called φθορά. For if you do not put a φθορά, it will not be noticed that an ἐναλλαγὴ τοῦ ἤχου took place"[32]. The important difference between this type of modulation and the first one described by Chrysaphes is that the 'phthoric' modulation would not be noticed if a Phthora (the sign!) was not written, whereas the 'parallactic' modulation involves a difference in pitch. (The implication is that a phthoric modulation does not). This interpretation is supported by the expressions used in the first paragraph of the Prooimion: Φθορά ἐστι τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα φθείρειν μέλοσ τοῦ ψαλλομένου ἤχου... and: οὐ λέγω τοῦτο [i.e. the modulation of the first type] ἔτι φθοράν, ἐπειδὴ φωνὰσ τελείασ ἐξέρχει. The latter phrase again implies that in phthoric modulations one does not move away from the pitch in question.

Several expressions used by Chrysaphes in the Prooimion show that the phthoric modulation was a small one, both in extent and effect. Thus he speaks of an ἐναλλαγὴ μερικὴ ἀπὸ <τοῦ> ψαλλομένου ἤχου εἰσ ἄλλον δι' ὀλίγου and describes the change as φθειρομένου τοῦ μέλουσ λεπτομερῶσ.

The reason for such modulations is given in the treatise written by Gabriel,where we read: Ἐνίοτε δὲ ἡ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἢ ὡραιώτητοσ ἕνεκα ἢ καὶ δι' ἀνάγκην ἐμπίπτει ἄλλοσ ἦχοσ ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ γνωριστικὸν αὐτοῦ μέλοσ. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο γίνεται ἢ ἀπὸ μέλουσ ἢ ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ, τίθεται ὁ ἦχοσ ἐκεῖνοσ οὗτινόσ ἐστι τὸ μέλοσ· εἰ δ' ἀπὸ μέλουσ, οὐχ ὁ ἦχοσ ἀλλ' ἡ φθορά (TARDO, pp.200-201).

It should be observed that Gabriel's terminology is slightly different from that of Chrysaphes, Gabriel distinguishing between modulation ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ and modulation ἀπὸ μέλουσ. From the quotation, however, it is clear that he had the same two types of modulation in mind as those described by Chrysaphes.

Now, in the days of Gabriel and Chrysaphes (the first half of the 15th century, in all probability) the two forms of modulation were apparently not indicated in the same way. For the parallactic modulation a MeSi would be used[33], whereas the

30. The word is also used for methods by which one can orientate oneself in the tonal system: "Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην (i.e. the metrophonia, see next note) ἔστιν ἡ παραλλαγή,ἣν δεῖ ἐξασκῆσαι καλῶσ, καὶ οὕτωσ ὡσ ἐν ὁποίᾳ ἂν εἴη φωνῇ τὸν ἐκείνησ τῆσ φωνῆσ ἦχον ἑτοίμωσ ἔχειν ἀποδοῦναι" (Gabriel Hieromonakhos, quoted from TARDO, p.201). In the Parallagai, intonation syllables are used to represent each pitch; cf. the definition by Pakhomios Rousanos:"Παραλλαγή ἐστι μετροφωνία μετὰ ἠχήματοσ" (quoted from K. ΨΑΧΟΣ, Ἡ παρασημαντικὴ τῆσ Βυζαντινῆσ μουσικῆσ, Athens 1917, p.62, note 62).

31. The counting is called μετροφωνία (see preceding note); cf. also below, pp.53-54.

32. This is, according to WELLESZ, "a clear definition of Parallage or modulation". To me some details are certainly beyond a precise understanding; these I have left untranslated in my quotation, together with some clear terminological expressions. And as for the rest, I am afraid that I cannot fully agree with Professor WELLESZ's explanation.

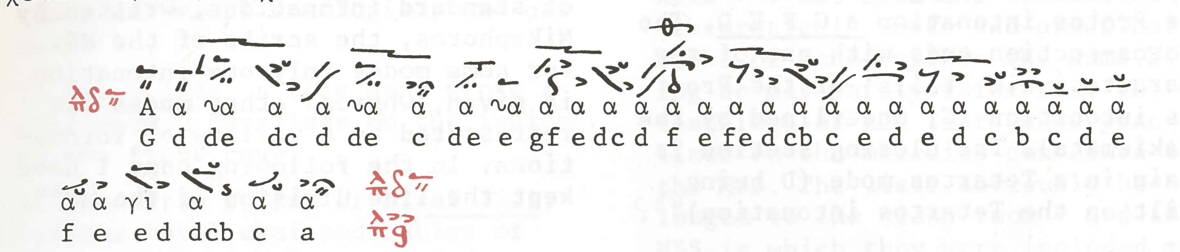
33. Notice Gabriel's use of the word ἦχοσ for "signature".

phthoric modulation would be indicated, naturally enough, by a Phthora. I have already, while dealing with the Neo-Byzantine theory of μεταβολαί, suggested that a connection might exist between some types of what was later called μεταβολαί and some peculiar uses of MeSi in the medieval MSS of Byzantine music[34]. At that point of the investigation I underlined the <u>a priori</u> probability of the <u>transpositional</u> habits being older than the Phthorai to which they are linked in later theory. The same reasoning must be valid in the present context, where the point of departure is 15th century theory about modulation and its connection with the signs called Phthorai.

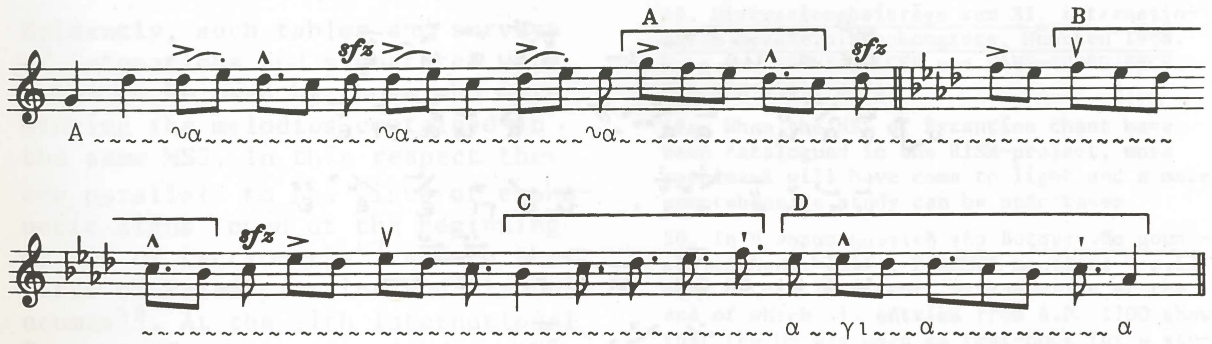
The question is inevitable: Are there any hints in the theoretical treatises that suggest some connection between the phthoric modulation as described by Chrysaphes and the use of MeSi in MSS that do not employ the Phthora-signs? The answer is in the affirmative. Chrysaphes himself, in the chapter Περὶ τῆσ τοῦ δευτέρου ἤχου φθορᾶσ (TARDO, p.238) describes a situation where a phthoric modulation takes place: Ὁ πρῶτοσ ἦχοσ, πολλάκισ τετραφωνῶν, γίνεται δεύτεροσ ἀπὸ μέλουσ. Ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἡ τῆσ <τοῦ> δευτέρου ἤχου φθορᾶσ δύναμισ. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐτίθετο φθορὰ εἰσ τὸν πρῶτον, κατήρχετο εἰσ τὸν μέσον αὐτοῦ, τὸν βαρύν. Ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τίθεται ἡ φθορὰ <u>ἢ ὁ ἦχοσ</u> καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ βαρέωσ δεσμεῖ τὸ μέλοσ καὶ γίνεται μέσοσ τοῦ δευτέρου. (The word ἦχοσ must here mean either "signature" or "intonation", probably "signature"). And the chapter Περὶ τῆσ τοῦ τετάρτου ἤχου φθορᾶσ ends with a highly interesting statement (TARDO, p.241): ..... τὸν ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ γὰρ πρῶτον ἦχον εὑρίσκομεν γεγονότα τέταρτον καθὼσ ποιεῖ Μιχαὴλ ὁ τῆσ Πατζάδοσ ... καὶ ὁ μοναχὸσ Γερμανὸσ εἰσ τὸ Αὕτη ἡμέρα Κυρίου... Ταῦτα δὲ γίνονται παρὰ τῆσ τοῦ τετάρτου φθορᾶσ, <u>εἰ καὶ οὐ τίθεται πολλάκισ φθορὰ τετάρτου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέλουσ γινόμενον οὕτωσ φθορὰ καλεῖται</u>. There is no mention here of any signature. The end of the quotation, however, shows that even in the days of Chrysaphes phthoric modulations were not always indicated by a Phthora - some of them could be seen directly from the flow of the melody itself.

Even though the melodies referred to in the treatise of Chrysaphes belong to the recent, kalophonic répertoire and not to the old body of chants, it is interesting to see the similarity between CHRYSAPHES's description of the φθορὰ τοῦ τετάρτου and the material which THODBERG published at the Byzantine Congress in Ohrid 1961 (cf. above, pp. 20 sqq.):
CHRYSAPHES: A pitch which, according to a counting ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ, is the pitch of the Protos (<u>D</u>, a, or e), has become (i.e. is being felt as) the Tetartos pitch (C, <u>G</u>, or d) because of the run of the melody. The phenomenon is often not expressed by any Phthora.
THODBERG: In Stikhera of Plagios Tetartos, the formulas which run from <u>a</u> downwards to <u>D</u> (Anastama and cognate forms) are sometimes followed by MeSi which show that these formulas were being understood as <u>d - G</u>. The "re-interpretation" is very often not reflected in any MeSi.

Akakios Khalkeopoulos - one of the <u>magistri minores</u> from the 15th or early 16th century - furnishes us with the conclusive piece of evidence in these rather hypothetical developments. In the MS Athens 917[35] he gives various examples to illustrate phthoric modulations. One of these[36] is introduced by a long description, in very clumsy Greek. This "μάθημα", he says, seems to be incorrect (σφαλτό), διότι ἔχει φωναὶ ἀνιοῦσαι κδ καὶ κατιοῦσαι κγ καὶ λεῖπεται κατιοῦσα φωνὴ μία· καὶ ἄρχετε τὸ μάθημα ἦχον πδ' καὶ ἐπειδὴ λεῖπεται ἕναν ἀπόστροφον ἔρχετε να τελειόσι τὸ μάθημα, ἦχον πg'. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἀκάκιοσ τὸ τελειόνο τὸ μάθημα εἰσ τὸν ἦχον πδ', ὅσὰν να μιδὲν εἶτον σφαλτό καὶ τοῦτο γίνετε ἀπὸ τὸ φθόρισμα τοῦ τεχνήτου.....



My 'transcription' of the melody under the lines is, so to speak, a Metrophonia[37]; it takes the melody to a finalis on <u>a</u>, indicated by the final signature πg (which is, then, put ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ). But Akakios, like the scribe of Sinai 1471[38], uses a double signature at the end. His πδ'' on <u>a</u> is obviously meant to show that the melody ends in the Plagios Tetartos[39]. This change, we were told, is indicated by the Phthora (ὁ). Now, the ὁ according to the Papadike is that of the Protos[40]. According to the descriptions of Chrysaphes[41] this must mean that the pitch in question (f) is to be considered an <u>a</u> - and, accordingly, that the size of the following intervals is changed to fit the new παραλλαγή[42]. Instead of <u>f e d c b</u> etc. we get <u>f e-flat d-flat c b-flat</u> etc., modelled on <u>a G F E D</u> etc. The melody is therefore to be transcribed as



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40. TARDO, p.153.

41. Cf. especially the following description of a phthoric modulation (TARDO, pp.236-237): Τὸ ἀπὸ παραλλαγῶν γὰρ μέλοσ τηρεῖται ἀλώβητον ἀπ' ἀρχῆσ μέχρι τοῦ εὑρεθῆναι τὴν τοῦ πρώτου ἤχου φθοράν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆσ φθορᾶσ τούτου συστέλλεται τοῦ πρώτου μέλουσ ἡ ἰδέα καὶ ἡ παραλλαγὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιεῖ ἡ φθορὰ ἴδιον μέλοσ <u>καὶ παραλλαγὴν ἄλλην</u>.

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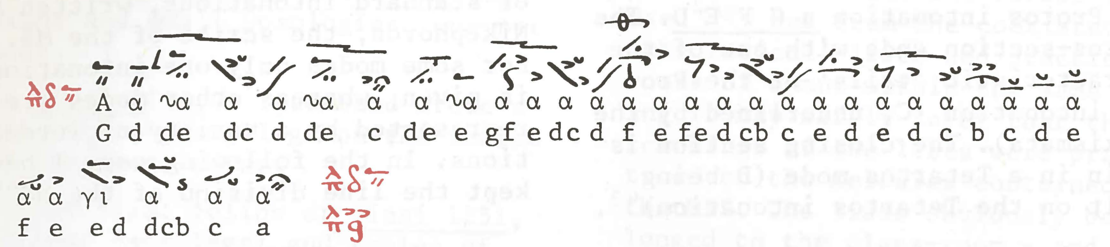
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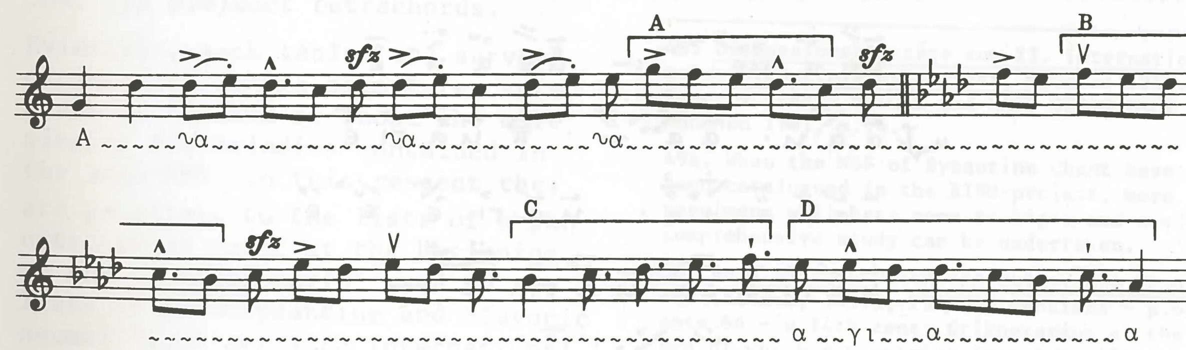
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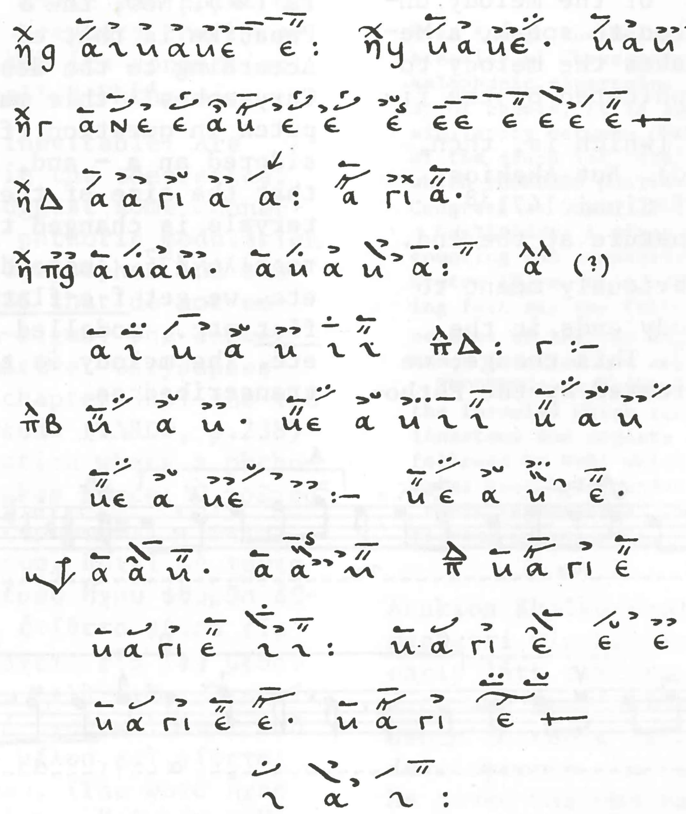
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The piece, it will be seen, starts with a Tetartos-section (the segment A being akin to the Tetartos intonation d c b a G). Immediately after the phthoric modulation into the Protos-section, segment B alludes to the Protos intonation a G F E D. The Protos-section ends with one of the characteristic 'tails' of the Protos intonation (C, underlined by the Tzakismata). The closing section is again in a Tetartos mode (D being built on the Tetartos intonation)[43].

f. Tables of intonations and signatures:

In the 12th century Stikherarion Sinai 1218, the subscription on top of fol. 271r is followed by a list of standard intonations, written by Nikephoros, the scribe of the MS. For some modes only one intonation is given, whereas other modes are represented by a variety of intonations. In the following copy I have kept the line division of the MS[44]:



43. This is not a phthoric modulation, but a modulation ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ, cf. TARDO, p.158: Ἀπὸ τὸν πρῶτον ἦχον ἂν κατέβησ μίαν φωνήν, εἶναι ὁ πλάγιοσ τοῦ τετάρτου.....

44. Some letters are hidden in the inner margin, but offprints of these are found on 270v.

At the end of Sinai 1231 (fol. 223v) later users of the MS have added
(a) a simple Parallage[45], showing the relative position of the modes in upward and downward movement;
(b) an unfinished list of intonations and small Doxologies, one per mode.

In Sinai 1234, a late hand wrote a tree-shaped Parallage on the inside of the front cover.

On the first folios of Sinai 1251, various Parallagai and tables of signatures are written in a late hand.

In Ohrid 54 (inv. 61), on the inside of the wooden front cover, there is a small conspectus of standard intonations - of the same type as the table in Sinai 1218, but with fewer examples.

Between the Menologion and Triodion of Ohrid 57 (inv. 62) the scribe placed a Metrophonia of Εἰσ τὸ ὄροσ (pp.33-36)[46] and, on p.38, some Parallagai, one of which covers no less that six disjunct tetrachords.

Evidently, such tables and surveys of intonations and signatures were meant to be used by those who were singing the melodies contained in the same MSS. In this respect they are parallels to the lists of ekphonetic signs found at the beginning or end of Lectionaria[47] and to the lists of Palæobyzantine and Slavonic neumes[48]. At the 11th International Congress for Byzantine Studies (München, 1958) I suggested that these lists be considered the forerunners of the Papadike and of the didactic poems by Glykys and Koukouzeles[49].

We do not know how the tables were used[49a]. But from the coëxistence of 'theoretical' lists and practical books of chant within the same binding we may safely infer that the teachings of the lists were practiced on the melodies contained in the MSS. The lists obviously belonged to the class-room - and the MSS in which they were included must have served, apart from their liturgical function, as 'text-books' for the teachers of Byzantine chant[50].

THE DIDACTIC USE OF SIGNATURES AND INTONATIONS.

The manuals contain a great number of 'methods' and Parallagai, from which the beginner could learn the relative pitch of the modes[51]. The ingenuity with which the teachers

45. Cf. below, pp.50 sqq.

46. For similar pieces, see below, pp.53-54.

47. HØEG, La notation ekphonétique (MMB Subsidia I,2), pp.17-25 and plates I-III.

48. PALIKAROVA VERDEIL, La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (MMB Subsidia III), plates V, XII, XIIIa, and XIIIb.

49. Diskussionsbeiträge zum XI. internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, München 1958. Hrsg. v. FRANZ DÖLGER und HANS-GEORG BECK. München 1961, p.74.

49a. When the MSS of Byzantine chant have been catalogued in the RISM-project, more specimens will have come to light and a more comprehensive study can be undertaken.

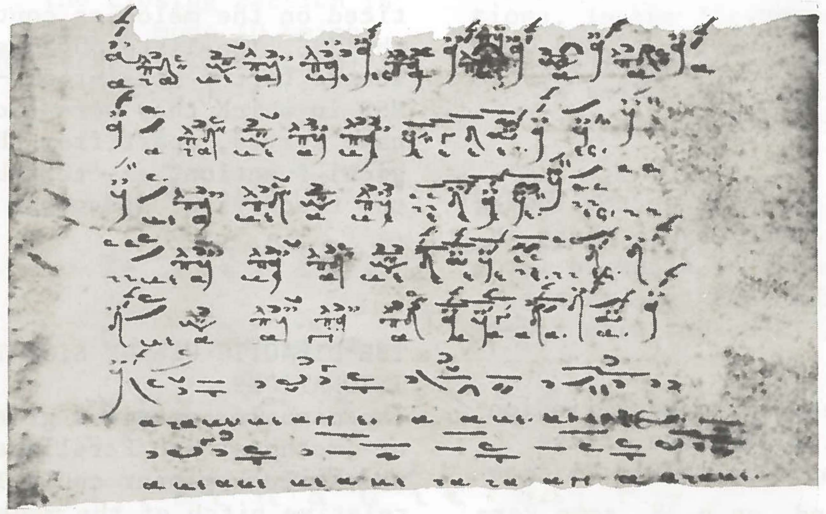
50. In Ἡ παρασημαντικὴ τῆσ Βυζαντινῆσ μουσικῆσ (Athens, 1917), PSAKHOS mentions - p.63, note 64 - a 14th cent. Stikherarion at the end of which six entries from A.D. 1700 show that the MS was used as text-book for a student of metrophony. PSAKHOS quotes two of these entries:
" 1700 Δεκεμβρίου 15 εἰσ Φιλιππούπολιν: Ἄρχισα τὸν ἦχον πρῶτον καὶ πλάγιον πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ παρὸν παλαιοῦ στιχηραρίου, ἤγουν μητροφωνίαν.
1700 Δεκεμβρίου 19 ἡμέρᾳ Πέμπτῃ ὥρᾳ τῆσ νυκτὸσ ἕκτῃ, ἐτελείωσα τὴν μητροφωνίαν τοῦ πρώτου καὶ πλαγίου πρώτου ἀπ' ἀρχῆσ ἕωσ τέλουσ..... καὶ ὁ Θεὸσ νὰ μὲ ἀξιώσῃ νὰ μάθω καὶ τὸ μέλοσ καὶ τὸ ψάλω εἰσ τὴν ποθημένην πατρίδα, ἀμήν".

51. Cf. above, p.45.

have varied their treatment of the subject, using all kinds of presentation for the Parallagai, shows the importance attached to this point of the basic instruction; tables, diagrams, well-known melodies used for demonstration, and short treatises in plain prose are 'methods' included in almost every manual of the Psaltic Art.

A few specimens will suffice to show how signatures and intonations are used for this purpose:

Example 1 (Athens 2401, fol. 10r):



Notes to Example 1: The second section (lines 2-5) is an elaborate version of one of the most popular Parallagai[52]. Its first line (line 2 of the example) consists of the Protos intonation (a G F E D E F G a), with explanatory signatures added to each step; the end of this line shows that the pitch of the Deuteros is one step above the pitch of the Protos. In each of the following lines (lines 3-5) the same neumes are repeated at pitches that are raised stepwise by means of the Oxeia at the end of each line. The half-tone interval (between the Deuteros and the Tritos) is thus not found at the same place in the four melodies, even though these - from a notational point of view - seem to be identical.

This 'method' is explained in the text printed by TARDO, L'Antica Melurgia, p.158, lines 1-12.

The first section (line 1 of the example) also uses the Protos intonation. It is meant to show what modes are encountered in downward leaps from the Protos - leaps of a fifth, a fourth, a third, and a second. It is explained in TARDO, p.158, lines 13-17.

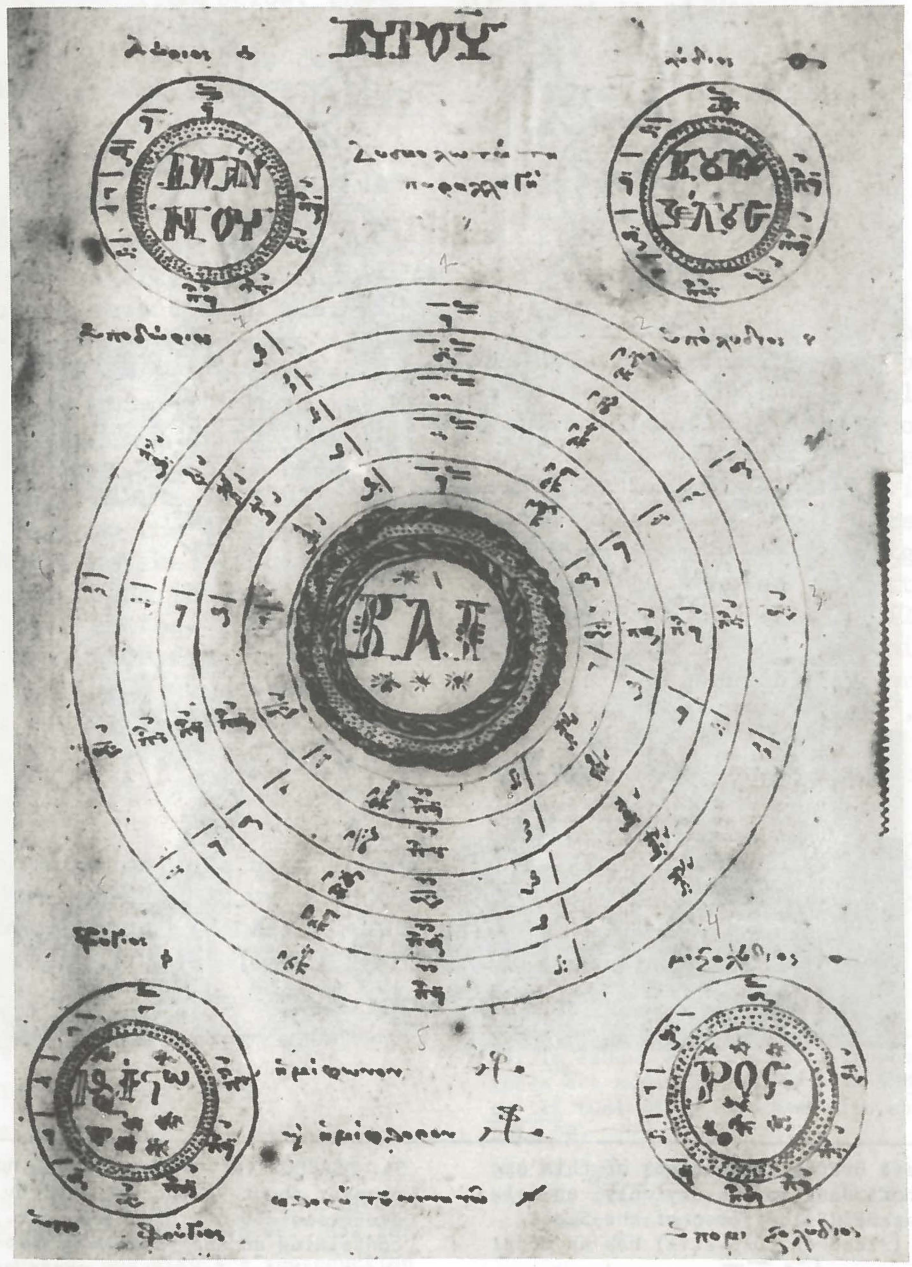
The third section (lines 6-7) consists of short intonation formulas, linked to each other by an appropriate treatment of their initial neumes. The red neumes written on top of the intonations form the melody of the usual Protos intonation[53].

Since nothing is known about actual teaching practice, we cannot tell exactly how such tables were used. No doubt they could be used in more than one way, depending on the paedagogical ability of the teachers[54].

☆

Among the diagrams drawn up for similar purposes, the following two are the most important:

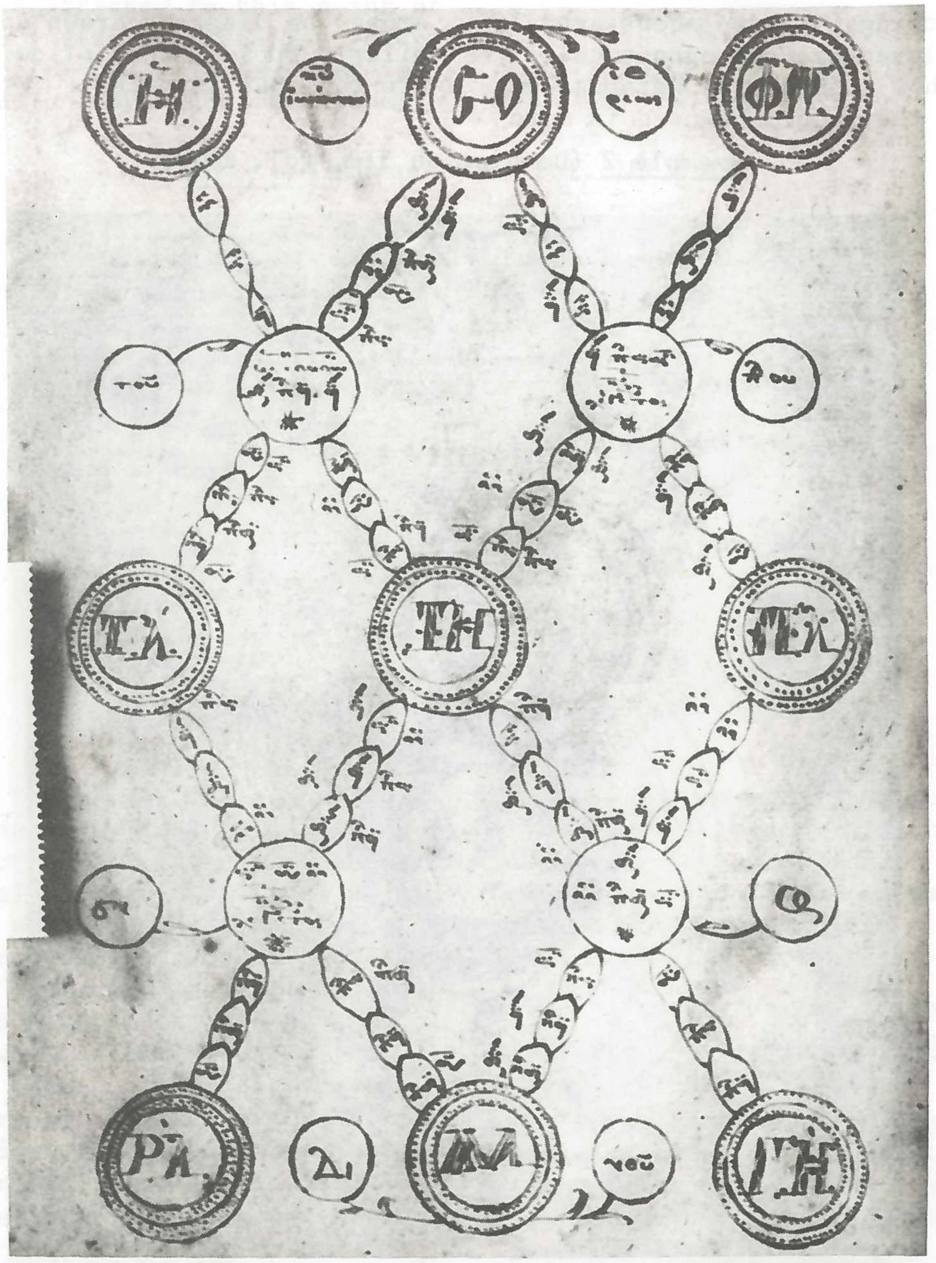
Example 2 (Dochiariou 319, fol. 19r):



NB. Footnotes 53-54, see next page.

52. For a more simple form, see TARDO, p.158. Other examples in FLEISCHER, Neumenstudien III. See also G. DÉVAI, The Musical Study of Koukouzeles in a 14th Century Manuscript (Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tom. VI, Fasc. 1-2, 1958), p.219, which reproduces a Parallage from Athens 2458.

Example 3 (Dochiariou 319, fol. 18v):



53. The short Protos intonations of this example are not meant for theory only; on fol. 21r in the same MS the first of the Small Prokeimena (Ἰδοῦ δὴ εὐλογεῖτε) has as modal indication [neumes], a close parallel to the last intonation in Example 1.

54. PSAKHOS (cf. above, p. 49, note 50) has a chapter about "ὁ τρόποσ, καθ' ὃν ἐδιδάσκετο τὸ στενογραφικὸν σύστημα" (op. cit., pp.60-63), containing an analysis κατὰ παραλλαγὴν of a short melody. Intonation words are here used to represent the various pitches.

Notes to Example 2: This diagram, ascribed to the famous Koukouzeles, is called ὁ τροχόσ ("the wheel"). It was used to show the relative positions of the modes in the system of disjunct tetrachords[55]. In a simplified form it survived until the 19th century, being used to illustrate the basic idea that the authentic modes are reached from below, the plagal ones from above[56].

This simplified τροχόσ is depicted and explained in CHRYSANTHOS's Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα, pp.28-39.

Notes to Example 3: Ascribed to Johannes Plousiadinos (15th century). Nothing is known about the use of this complicated diagram, except that it was connected with the τριφωνία (the system of conjunct tetrachords)[57]. CHRYSANTHOS's chapter Περὶ Τριφωνίασ (Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα, pp. 39-45) gives an idea of the way in which the diagram could be used, especially the remarks in § 92 (ibid. pp.41-42). As for the 40 signatures that are not inscribed in circles, these are all found in the four rhomboids that enclose the central circle of the whole diagram. The signatures of these four areas are to be read counter-clockwise; they illustrate the system of disjunct tetrachords (the τροχόσ).

When these diagrams were used in teaching, the signatures were sung on their respective intonation melodies. At least this is what CHRYSANTHOS says in his description of the Wheel: Ψάλλομεν δὲ τούτουσ τοὺσ φθόγγουσ κατὰ τὸν Τροχὸν, ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ꝗ, καὶ προφέροντεσ αὐτὸν ανναμεσ, μὲ τὸ μέλοσ τὸ ὁποῖον παριστῶσιν οἱ χαρακτῆρέσ του...[58]

CHRYSANTHOS's statement is supported by other sources from the same time, for instance the MS Athens 2015, foll.26v-27v: Τὸ τοῦ τροχοῦ λοιπὸν γράφεται καθ' ἡμᾶσ καὶ παραλλαγίζεται οὕτω· πα βου γα δι πα βου γα δι πα..... κατὰ δὲ τοὺσ παλαιούσ, οὕτω· α νε α νεσ νε α νεσ ια ια α γι α α ια νεσ νε α νεσ ια ια α γι α α ια νεσ.....

In other connections the theoretical manuals use signatures as pure pitch symbols, e.g. in the so-called μετροφωνίαι. These frequently consist of well-known melodies, adapted for teaching purposes and provided with signatures to define the relative pitch of each step; the signatures quite often consist of letter-numerals without the usual tail-neumes. The standard melody for this exercise is a Stikheron for March 9, Χορὸσ τετραδεκαπύρσευτοσ[59], but other melodies are at times used instead[60]. Thus, the scribe of the codex Peribleptus[61] includes a metrophonic arrangement of the polytonal Doxastikon for August 15, Θεαρχίῳ νεύματι, among the didactic pieces and diagrams with which he ends the second volume of his MS[62]. Examples

55. Cf. above, p.11.

56. Cf. TILLYARD, Handbook, p.30.

57. Cf. above, p.11.

58. op. cit., p.31.

59. Transcribed by TILLYARD in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 3rd ed., New York 1945, vol.I, p.518. See also the reproduction in FLEISCHER, Neumenstudien III, B, p.16 and the partial transcription ibid., C, p.2.

60. In Athens 974, p.198, metrophonic signatures are added by a late hand (MMB Transcripta III (Oct I), p.95). See also above, p.49, note 50.

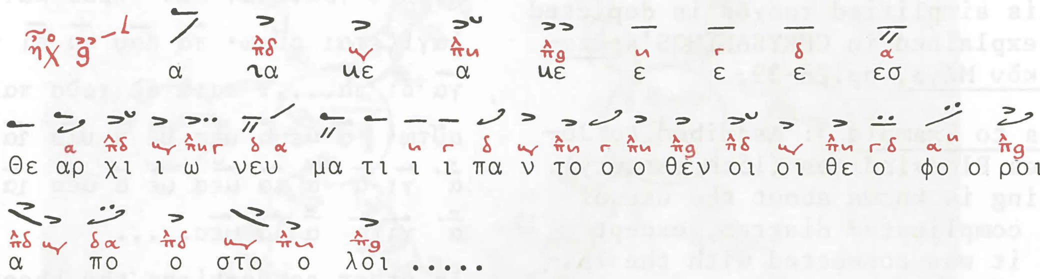
61. Cf. MMB Transcripta V (Oct II), p.XIX; but the date proposed by TILLYARD - "c.1280" - seems to be too early, c.1400 is more likely.

62. cod. Peribleptus, II, foll.154v sqq.

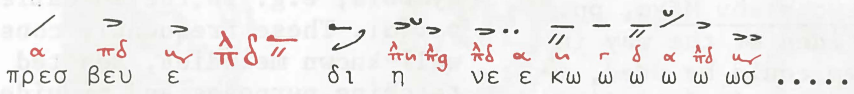
4a and 4b are excerpts from this Metrophonia, taken from fol.154v (Ex. 4a) and 155v (Ex. 4b). The Doxastikon is transcribed and discussed by STRUNK as a good example of partial "modulation to the dominant or the subdominant"[63] - and it was evidently used in the codex Peribleptus for exactly the same reason.

Example 4a (Peribleptus II, 154v):

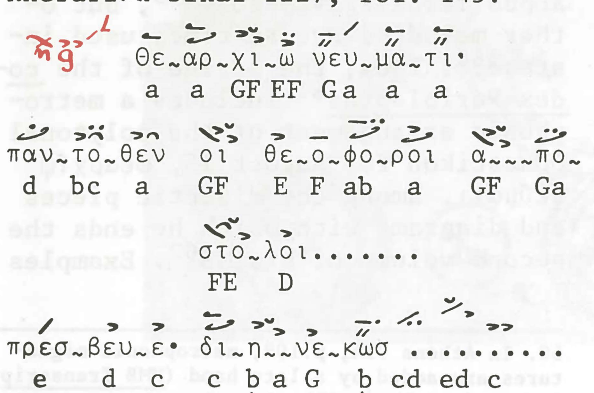
Στιχηρὸν μετροφωνούμενον καὶ παραλαγιζόμενον εισ ὀφελίαν μαθητοῦ.



Example 4b (ibid., 155v):



Notes to Examples 4a and 4b: For the sake of comparison I here reproduce the same two sections from the Stikherarion Sinai 1227, fol. 145:



Between the 'normal' and the didactic setting the difference is that the leaps of the former are replaced by stepwise progressions in the latter. The πδ on c in Example 4b is explained in the margin of the MS as being used ἀπὸ μέλουσ, a term which we already met in Gabriel's treatise[64]; from a metrophonic point of view the c is on the Tritos level, as indicated by the Barys signature on the last neume of πρέσβευε. Similar explanatory marginalia are used for other MeSi in this Doxastikon; they cannot, however, be seen clearly on my microfilm.

63. Cf. above, p.10.

64. Cf. above, p.45.

CHAPTER V.
THE FUNCTIONS OF SIGNATURES AND INTONATIONS

In the first chapter of the present book quotations from STRUNK, WELLESZ, and HØEG were adduced to show how the views on the functions of signatures and intonations have developed during the last decades[1]. There are, however, still unanswered questions which demand an attentive study. On the following pages a new approach will be tried, mainly from an extended survey of the problems connected with the medial signatures. The views put forward in this connection are partly my own, partly the result of a running discussion between HØEG, THODBERG, and myself[2]. In this discussion an important point has been the hypothesis that the medial signatures are symbols for sung medial intonations. In view of the consequences that follow from this hypothesis, it seems natural to describe in some detail the foundations on which it is built[3].

(1) One argument in favour of the hypothesis is the haphazard way in which some MSS occasionally have MeInt instead of MeSi. A good illustration of this point is to be found in the 24 Oikoi of the Akathistos in the version of Ashburnham 64[4]. The treatment of line 3 (WELLESZ's numbering) may serve as an example:

In most Oikoi a Plagios Protos signature is put before this line, but in Oikos VI and VII the MS prescribes the corresponding intonation. These two intonations were, of course, intended to be sung. But this does not mean that there was anything in the two Oikoi to set them apart from the other 22 Oikoi and to make it necessary for the scribe to insert prescriptions about intonations to be sung before line 3 in those particular Oikoi. It seems likely that the difference between VI + VII and the other Oikoi is only a difference in spelling. Before line 3 intonations were to be sung in all Oikoi[5], but Symeon (the scribe of Ashburnham 64) normally used MeSi as a practical 'short-hand' for full intonations and would only occasionally indulge in writing the MeInt out in full[6].

In the Dalassenos Stikherarion, too, the stray MeInt can be nothing but unintentional graphical variants; in the whole MS there are only four real MeInt (79v; 84v, 308v; 309v) and three MeSi that are neumated as intonations

1. Cf. above, pp.2 sqq.

2. Cf. above, p.21.

3. Cf. THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 6 (On the function of the medial signatures).

4. Transcribed by WELLESZ in MMB Transcr.IX.

5. The omission of any indication before line 3 in Oikos V does not affect the argument, since it is no doubt unintentional.

6. Cf. above, pp.32-33. For further examples from Ashburnham 64, see THODBERG, op. cit., Chapter 6, note 7.

([neume] 91r; [neume] 95v; [neume] 240r)[7].

In some MSS the variation between MeSi and MeInt is probably intentional[8]; but this circumstance does not invalidate the above argument.

(2) If MeSi were to be understood as symbols for intonations, this would fit in well with the generally accepted explanation of the signatures that are found at the beginning of pieces to be chanted (the MSi)[9].

(3) A further argument in favour of the theory that the MeSi represent something sung, i.e. medial intonations, is the way in which the placing of MeSi depends on the textual structure. In a paper of mine that was printed in Byzantion some years ago, attention was drawn to the connection between MeSi and textual structure (syntactical or 'metrical')[10]; but at that time I could only hint at the problems involved. The point will now be investigated further, on the basis of the collations of Ἔστησαν and its three Prosomoia[11].

The number of MeSi in each of these four Stikhera[12] varies from 0 to 9. A glance at the collations (below, Appendix B) shows that this variation is not only a variation from MS to MS, but that even in the same MS the four pieces usually have different patterns of MeSi. Apart from the five MeSi-less MSS[13] only one single MS is consistent in its MeSi (Coislin 40 which in all 4 cases has only one MeSi, namely before line 4). The following 4 MSS are reasonably constant:

Paris 265: In ΕΤΣ MeSi before 4; in K before 2 and 4.

Sinai 1224: In ΕΚΣ MeSi before 4 and 6; in T before 3 and 6.

Sinai 1227: In ΚΤΣ MeSi before 4 and 6; in E before 4.

Sinai 1221: In ΚΤΣ MeSi before 4 and 6; in E before 4, 6, and 8.

In some of the other MSS two hymns have MeSi at the same places, but for the most part all four Stikhera differ from each other. In this connection it is especially interesting to observe that K and T (which in all MSS are found together at the same place) are always treated differently - except in Coislin 40, Sinai 1221, and Sinai 1227.

This difference in the placing of MeSi is not parallelled in a different treatment of the melody. Consequently, if the different treatment of the MeSi of the four Stikhera within a single MS is not merely the result of carelessness, an explanation must be sought not in the melody, which is in principle the same in all four hymns, but in the text.

As basis for the discussion I print the text of the four Stikhera. The figures given in two rows are counts of the punctuation dots (upper row; the type "19+2" is short for "19 clear dots + 2 dubious") and of the MeSi (lower row).

7. Cf. above, pp.36 sqq. For an isolated MeInt in a Slavonic Stikherarion, see below, p.116, note 71.

8. Cf. below, pp.144 sqq.

9. Cf. STRUNK's remarks on "the Byzantine modal signature", quoted above, p.2. For an example of variation between MSi and MInt it is easiest to refer to Example 32 in my Chapter VII (below, p.131); the singers who used Sinai 1218 or Sinai 1227 for this Stikheron would intone a G F E D a exactly in the same way as those who used the Dalassenos Stikherarion.

10. RAASTED, Some Observations on the Structure of the Stichera in Byzantine Rite (Byzantion 28, 1958 ('59), pp.529 sqq.), especially p.536.

11. Below, Appendix B. See also above, pp.12-18.

12. In the following I again make use of the symbols E, K, T, Σ to denote respectively Ἔστησαν, Κύριε, Τέτρωμαι, Σήμερον.

13. Cf. above, p.12.

1 Ἔστησαν $^{11}_{4}$ τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια $^{29}_{4}$

2 τὴν τιμὴν $^{2+1}_{0}$ τοῦ τετιμημένου $^{33}_{16}$

3 ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο $^{1+1}_{1}$ ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ $^{32+1}_{29}$

4 Γρηγορεῖτε $^{12}_{2}$ καὶ προσεύχεσθε $^{23}_{2}$

5 ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε $^{1}_{0}$ εἰσ πειρασμόν $^{32+1}_{24}$

6 Τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα $^{1}_{0}$ πρόθυμον $^{28}_{5}$

7 ἡ δὲ σὰρξ $^{1}_{0}$ ἀσθενήσ $^{31}_{13}$

8 Διὰ τοῦτο γρηγορεῖτε:-

1 Κύριε $^{19+2}_{3}$ ὁ σταυρῷ κτείνασ $^{1}_{0}$ τὸν δόλιον $^{27}_{8}$

2 τῆσ αὐτοῦ $^{6}_{0}$ ρῦσαί με ἀπάτησ $^{27}_{15}$

3 τὸν ἀπατώμενον $^{5}_{0}$ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντα $^{28+1}_{24}$

4 καὶ νηστείᾳ $^{6}_{2}$ ἐκκαθάρασ με $^{25}_{0}$

5 δίδου μοι $^{0}_{1}$ τὰ σὰ θελήματα ποιεῖν $^{27}_{20}$

6 ὅπωσ βλέψω δέσποτα $^{21}_{4}$

7 γεγηθὼσ $^{1}_{0}$ τὰ σεπτὰ $^{10}_{2}$

8 Ἰησοῦ $^{0+1}_{0}$ παθήματά σου:-

1 Τέτρωμαι $^{17}_{4}$ ἡδονῆσ ῥομφαίᾳ κύριε $^{27}_{4}$

2 καὶ δεινῶσ $^{6}_{0}$ ὅλωσ ἐνεκρώθην $^{26+1}_{14}$

3 Ἴασαι ζώωσον $^{1}_{0}$ τὴν ταπεινήν μου ψυχήν $^{25+2}_{22}$

4 ὁ τῇ λόγχῃ $^{7}_{1}$ τρωθεὶσ δέσποτα $^{23}_{1}$

5 καὶ τοὺσ τετρωμένουσ $^{2}_{0}$ βέλει τοῦ ἐχθροῦ $^{26}_{20}$

6 ὡσ οἰκτίρμων $^{3}_{0}$ ἰασάμενοσ $^{25}_{3}$

7 καὶ σεπτῶν σου παθῶν $^{19}_{12}$

8 κοινωνὸν ἀνάδειξόν με:-

1 Σήμερον $^{17+2}_{3}$ ἐναπέψυξεν ὁ Λάζαροσ $^{30}_{9}$

2 καὶ θρηνεῖ $^{4}_{0}$ τοῦτον Βηθανία $^{29+1}_{10}$

3 ὃν $^{1}_{0}$ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν $^{5+2}_{1}$ ἐγείρεισ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν $^{29}_{24}$

4 προπιστοῦσαι $^{8}_{3}$ ἐν τῷ φίλῳ σου $^{24}_{2}$

5 τὰ τῆσ ἀναστάσεώσ σου τῆσ φρικτῆσ $^{27}_{22}$

6 τὴν τοῦ Ἅδου νέκρωσιν $^{25}_{5}$

7 καὶ Ἀδὰμ τὴν ζωήν $^{30}_{7}$

8 Διὰ τοῦτό σε ὑμνοῦμεν:-

The syntactical pattern of the four Stikhera can be expressed as follows (with a colon as indication of asyndetic breaks):

E	1 + 2 3 : 4 + 5 : 6 + 7 : 8
K	1 + 2 + 3 4 + 5 6 + 7 + 8
T	1 + 2 : 3 + 4 +(5 + 6) 7 + 8
Σ	1 + 2 3 4 + 5 : 6 + 7 : 8

This table shows that E and Σ have the same syntactical pattern. K has dropped the strong asyndetic breaks; the text runs on quite smoothly (notice especially that 7 and 8 are intimately linked. T has a quite different articulation, with the strongest breaks after 2 (asyndeton) and 6.

The punctuation: Dots at verse ends are usually found in 26-33 MSS (after lines 1, 2, 3, 5). After lines 4 and 6 the figures are somewhat smaller (after 4: 23-25; after 6: 21-28). After line 7, 30-31 MSS put a dot in E and Σ but only 19 in T and 10 in K. The reason for this different dotting obviously lies in the syntactical structure of the hymns. As for dots put elsewhere than at verse ends, the one after the first word of the hymns is found quite frequently; it is of the kind which I would term "musical dots"[14]. The other dots reflect special tendencies of subdividing a verse line[15].

Medial signatures are placed

after the initial melisma	in 3- 4 MSS
after line 1	4- 9 "
after line 2	10-16 "
3, mid-verse	0- 1 "
after line 3	22-29 "
4, mid-verse	1- 3 "
after line 4	0- 2 "
5, mid-verse	0- 1 "
after line 5	20-24 "
after line 6	3- 5 "
after line 7	2-13 "

If the number of punctuation dots is compared with the figures on this list, the verse structure comes out clearly:

After line 4, 23-25 MSS have punctuation, but only 0-2 have a MeSi. The two verses (4 and 5) thus form a couplet - or a very long verse that is divided into two hemistichs.

Similarly, after line 2 there is a maximal number of dots (in 27-33 MSS) but only 10-16 MSS have MeSi.

Comparing these data with the other five places where most MSS have punctuation, we find a parallel between the breaks after lines 1, 2, 4, and 6 (many dots, but relatively few MeSi) and between those after lines 3 and 5 (many dots and many MeSi); as for the place after line 7, the great range of variation makes it impossible to interpret safely[16].

Notwithstanding their different syntactical structure, all four Stikhera thus have a common verse structure:

1 + 2

3

4 + 5

6 + 7

8

This verse structure is closely parallelled in the syntactical structure of E and Σ[17].

From the figures in the list we can learn more about the connection between MeSi and text:

14. Cf. p.533 of my Byzantion article (see above, p.56, note 10).

15. ibid., p.540.

16. After line 1: 27-30 dots but only 4-9 MeSi;
after line 3: 27-33 dots and 22-29 MeSi;
after line 5: 26-33 dots and 20-24 MeSi;
after line 6: 21-28 dots but only 3-5 MeSi;
after line 7 in E and Σ:
30-31 dots and 7-13 MeSi;
after line 7 in K and T:
10-19 dots and 2-12 MeSi.

17. Cf. the diagrams above.

(a) After lines 3 and 5 the majority of MSS have MeSi. The smallest figure in both cases comes from T, the only piece in which 3+4 and 5+6 are syntactical units.

(b) After line 1 the smallest number of MeSi is in E (where line 2 is part of the object) and T (where lines 1 and 2 form one main clause with two verbs). In Σ, lines 1 and 2 are two main clauses. Again the number of MeSi corresponds to the weight of the syntactical break[18].

(c) Fifteen MSS have no MeSi in the last lines (7 and 8), except for Sinai 1216, Sinai 1231, Vatopedi 1492, and Athens 974, which may have a MeSi after line 7. It should be noted that these four MSS have in T a MeSi after line 7, although the syntactical break in this Stikheron is after line 6; here the verse structure seems to prevail over the syntactical structure.

(d) The almost total absence of MeSi after line 7 in K is a conspicuous illustration of the relation between MeSi and text.

The observations put forward on pp. 59 sq. show two important tendencies concerning the connection between MeSi and text. For one thing, the lowest number of MeSi was frequently found in the Stikheron where the syntactical break is smallest. Typical in this respect is K, where only three late MSS (Sinai 1564, Sinai 1585, Coislin 42) have MeSi between lines 7 and 8. Why this tendency to avoid a MeSi at a place with only a minor syntactical break or, as in K after line 7, with no syntactical break at all? The answer seems inevitable: Because a MeSi in such places might disturb the understanding of the text by separating elements that should rightly be taken together.

Elsewhere the MeSi respected the verse structure: In the middle of a long verse or a couplet there were few MeSi, at the end of a couplet there were more. The case of the four MSS which had MeSi after line 7 in T (although the syntactic break was rather after line 6) shows that here the MeSi were inserted to make the verse structure clear.

All this allows of only one interpretation: An element which might disturb the understanding of the text when put in a wrong place but which could make the verse structure more clear when it was put correctly, cannot have been meant for the eye alone; it must have been heard. The MeSi, in other words, represent something sung, i.e. medial intonations.

(4) Closely related to the above argumentation from the text is the following interpretation of the relation between MeSi and melody: It is a well-known fact that verse ends (and mid-verse stops) can be treated musically in different ways. For our present purpose the inner cadences can be divided into two types, the cadences that make the melody rest and those that lead on to the following phrase. The choice between these two types, it must be stressed, does not follow mechanically from the syntactical structure; 'leading-on' cadences are quite often found at the strongest

18. As for E, which has MeSi in 8 MSS, I interpret this to mean that the break after the vocative (line 1) was felt to be rather heavy - cf. the demonstrative pronoun in line 2. Thus, we have here an example of how the MeSi can give a deeper understanding of the psychology of syntax.

syntactical breaks[19]. In the Stikheron 'Εκ δεξιῶν τοῦ σωτῆροσ (September 16, Euphemia) cadences of both types occur[20]. I have previously pointed out that the distribution of 'heavy' and 'light' cadences in this Stikheron reflects the verse structure, with punctuating melismata at the mid-verse stops and either full cadences or leading-on cadences at the verse ends[21]. The collation of MeSi and punctuation dots in 41 MSS showed a marked difference in the treatment of the verse ends: After the resting cadences (lines 3, 5, 6, 7, 9) the majority of MSS had both punctuation dots and MeSi; but after the leading-on cadences (lines 2, 4, 8, 10) MeSi were almost totally absent, even though most MSS had punctuation dots also at these places[22].

This scarcity of MeSi after leading-on cadences should be interpreted in the same way as the scarcity of MeSi between two lines that form an inseparable syntactical unit. The MeSi were avoided in such situations because they would mean a delay in the rapid transition from one verse to the next. And since silent marks of control would not have that effect, the avoidance of MeSi after leading-on cadences must be another support for the hypothesis that the MeSi are symbols for sung medial intonations.

Sinai 1218 is one of the MSS in which MeSi after leading-on cadences are relatively frequent. These MeSi are very often precise echoes of the preceding cadence, cf. the following cases which are picked out from the Pentekostarion (folios 212r sqq.; the references are to TILLYARD's Transcripta volume):

Θωμᾶσ ὁ λεγόμενοσ δίδυμοσ (Pent. No. 7),
after line 4: (...EFC)
after line 7: (acba)

Μεθ' ἡμέρασ ὀκτῶ (Pent. No. 19),
line 1, after ὀκ-τῶ : (...EF)
after line 7: (EFGa)

Ἔρρανάν μύρα (Pent. No. 27),
line 1, after μυ-ρᾶ : (baGab)

Ὁ τῇ παλάμῃ (Pent. No. 28),
after line 3: (DFEDE)

Ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦσ (Pent. No. 30),
line 9, after κυρι-ὸσ : (...DEC).

The argument does of course not rest on an isolated case. In the Pentekostarion of D (MMB I, foll. 252v-279r) I have found only one MeSi after a leading-on cadence, before ὁ πηγὰσ καὶ λίμνασ in Παρὰ τὸ φρέαρ[23]. And even in Sinai 1218, a Stikherarion that is overloaded with MeSi and in which MeSi after leading-on cadences are not rare, the scarcity of such MeSi is remarkable. A confrontation of Sinai 1218's treatment of a Stikheron with resting cadences (Example 1, below, p.62) and of one with leading-on cadences (Example 2, below, p.63) will show the difference[24]:

19. This is not the place to enlarge upon the artistic qualities of Byzantine composers. It is perhaps not too much to say that the art of musical text-interpretation was never more perfect than in this refined use of inner cadences.

20. MMB Transcripta I (Sept), p.92. Reproduced and discussed on pp.537-541 of the article quoted above, p.56, note 10.

21. ibid., p.541.

22. For details I refer to the tables in my earlier publication.

23. fol.262r; MMB Transcripta VII (Pent), hymn 49, line 10.

24. For the sake of comparison I add the MeSi of two other MSS, Sinai 1227 and D.

Example 1 (Sinai 1218, 231v; Sinai 1227, 230r; D, 275r; MMB Transcripta VII, No. 100:

D: 1227: 1218:

1 Γλωσ_σαι πο_τε

συν_ε_χε__θη__σαν·

2 δι_α την τολ_μαν·

της πυρ_γο_ποι_ι_ασ·

3 γλωσ_σαι δε νυν

ε_σο_φι_σθη_σαν·

4 δι_α την δο__ξαν·

της θε__ο_γνω_σι_ασ·

5 ε__κει κατ_ε_δι_κα_σε

τους α__σε__βεισ τω πταισ_μα_τι·

6 εν_ταυ__θα ε_φω_τι_σε χρι_στοσ·

τους α__λι_εισ τω πνευ__μα_τι·

7 το__τε κατ_ηρ_γει_το η α__φω_νι_α·

8 προσ τι_μω_ρι_αν·

9 αρ__τι και_νουρ_γει_ται εισ συμ_φω_νι_αν·

10 προσ σω_τη__ρι__αν των ψυ__χων η__μων-

Example 2 (Sinai 1218, 232r; Sinai 1227, 231r; D, 275v; MMB Transcripta VII, No. 109):

D: 1227: 1218:

1 Δευ_τε παν_τεσ οι πι_στοι·

2 των α_γι__ων παν_των

την παν_ε_ορ_τον μνη_μην·

3 εν ψαλ_μοισ και υμ__νοισ

4 και ω_δαισ πνευ_μα_τι_καισ ευ_φη_μη__σω_μεν·

5 τον βαπ_τι_στην του σω_τη__ροσ·

6 α_πο_στο_λουσ προ_φη_τασ και μαρ_τυ_ρασ·

7 ι_ε_ραρ_χασ δι_δα_σκα_λουσ τε και ο_σι_ουσ·

8 α_σκη_τασ και δι_και_ουσ·

9 και των α_γι_ων γυ_ναι_κων

το φι_λο_θε_ον συν_ταγ_μα·

10 σε_βασ_μι_ωσ μα_κα__ρι_ζον_τεσ

11 συμ_φω_νωσ εκ_βο_η__σω_μεν·

12 υ__περ_α_γα__θε χρι__στε

13 ο θε__οσ η__μων·

14 ταισ αυ_των πρεσ_βει_αισ·

15 πα_ρα__σχου· ει_ρη_νην ταισ εκ_κλη_σι_αισ σου·

16 νι__κασ κατ' εχ_θρων·

τω φι_λο_χρι_στω βα_σι__λει·

17 και ταισ ψυ_χαισ η_μων το με_γα ε__λε_οσ:-

The above arguments are not the only ones that might be adduced in support of our hypothesis. They should, however, show sufficiently clearly that taking the MeSi to be symbols for sung medial intonations is not merely an assumption, but a sound working hypothesis.

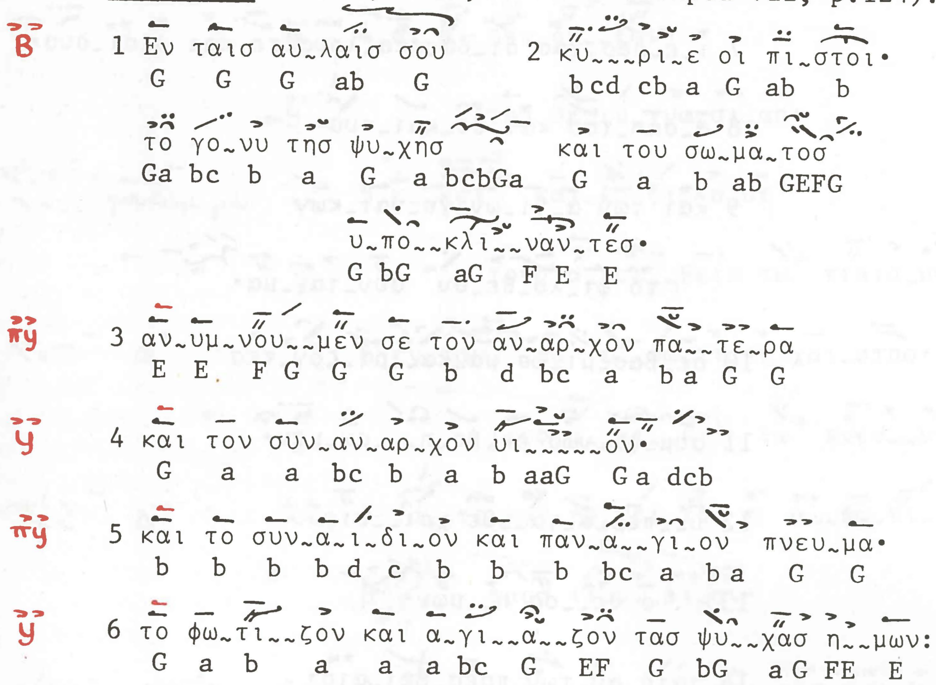
The implications of this concept will be studied in the present chapter and the concept will be applied also in the rest of this book. In so far as this application really does make sense, the said interpretation of the MeSi will no longer be a working hypothesis but a well founded theory.

☆

What, then, are the functions of the medial intonations (whether these be actually written as MeInt or expressed by the corresponding MeSi)?

The MeSi are generally understood as signs of control, meant to show the singer that he was on the right pitch, or to help him back if he had fallen out of tune[25]. As long as these signs of control were taken to be silent, no other function could reasonably be ascribed to them. There are, however, many situations in which MeSi occur in ways that would seem to make their alleged function as signs of control highly improbable. A few typical specimens will show this point[26]:

Example 3 (MMB I, 271v; MMB Transcripta VII, p.124):

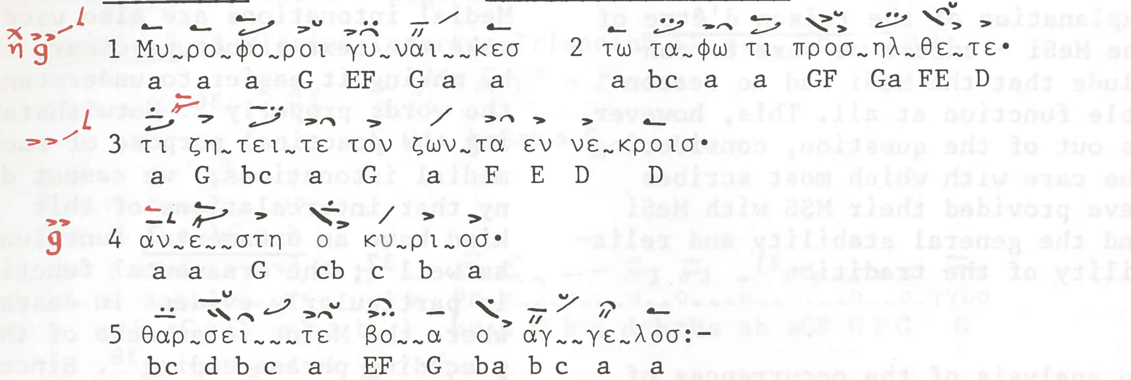


25. The views of Western scholars have on this point been in conformity with modern, Neo-Byzantine practice (cf. quotation above, p.5), in which the transformation from sung intonations to silent signatures has been accomplished (cf. below, p.153).

26. For further parallels, see THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 6. From the silence of other scholars I infer that such phenomena have seemed to them to be of minor importance.

Notes to Example 3: In line 2, D has Oligon on ὑ(ποκλίναντεσ); I have corrected into Ison in order to keep the right pitch. In line 4, the Oligon over the Kratema is missing. To simplify I have left out the red variants in D.

Example 4 (MMB I, 255r; MMB Transcripta VII, p.29):



Notes to Example 4: In line 5, D has ο which makes the melody end out of pitch; my correction into [neume] is merely made for the sake of convenience and other solutions might be envisaged. (TILLYARD's information on the reading in D is not correct). For the inaccuracies of D in this Stikheron, see below, p.138.

Viewed as signs of control most of the MeSi in Examples 3-4 are superfluous. The melodies are so simple and the use of standard formulas and phrases so evident that no singer could for a moment feel any doubt as to the place of the half-tone steps, the main difficulty in unaccompanied vocal music[27]. And, if we apply WELLESZ's most recent thoughts about the function of sung MeSi, it is certainly difficult to think of a singer "humming them inwardly in order to catch the right note of the following phrase"[28] - especially in cases like Example 3, where all the phrases introduced by MeSi start with Isons, i.e. on the same pitch as the finales of the immediately preceding phrases. The "right note of the following phrase" was easily found without any MeSi, one would think[29].

On the strength of this, the explanation of the MeSi as signs of control must be rejected, at least in so far as the medieval Byzantine music is concerned. As I intend to show later on, this concept is fully valid only for the most recent phase of 'Byzantine' music - including, perhaps, the period immediately preceding.

27. THODBERG has a good many observations to illustrate this argument in his thesis, Chapter 6, paragraph 2.

28. MMB Transcripta IX (Akath), Introduction p.LXVII(8). The underlining is mine.

29. Such cases are extremely common, cf. below, pp.121, 127 (Ex. 27), 128 (Ex. 29), 130 (Ex. 31, line 6), 131 (Ex. 32, lines 4, 10, 11), 132 (Ex. 33, line 5), etc.

ceding CHRYSANTHOS's reform in the 19th century[30].

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In our understanding of Byzantine music there is now a blank, a gap that must be filled out with a new explanation of the raison d'être of the MeSi - unless we were to conclude that the MeSi had no reasonable function at all. This, however, is out of the question, considering the care with which most scribes have provided their MSS with MeSi and the general stability and reliability of the tradition[31].

An analysis of the occurrences of MeSi (or MeInt[32]) in MSS of different dates and different genres will be made below, pp.89-153. It makes us realize that medial intonations have had more than one function and that the use of these vocalises has undergone several changes up to our own time, where the MeSi are nothing but silent signs of control.

A practical function can be ascribed to intonations when they make singing more easy. Intonations are used at the beginning of hymns to this effect, facilitating a precise attack and also serving as a guide for the position of the half-tone steps in the following melody[33]. Medially, intonations are used with a similar function when a new modality is to be introduced in the course of a melody[34] or when a change of performers takes place[35].

Medial intonations are also used to make the text structure clear, thereby making it easier to understand the words properly[36]. Notwithstanding the practical purpose of such medial intonations, we cannot deny that intercalations of this kind have an ornamental function as well[37]; the ornamental function is particularly evident in cases where the MeInt is an echo of the preceding phrase ending[38]. Since this type of MeInt singing was used at the Imperial Court[39] and MeInt in some MSS are prescribed especially for use at high feasts[40], we may infer that the ornamental use of intercalated intonations gave an extra brilliancy or festivity to the performance.

For similar purposes other intercalations are sometimes used. Some of these clearly bear the mark of being a sort of 'stage directions'. Thus,

30. Cf. below, p.153.

31. Cf. my article in Byzantion, 28, 1958, p.529 - and above, pp.11-18. By 'stability' I do not mean that all MSS agree as to presence or absence of MeSi at a given place. I refer to the fact that when they do have them, their choice of MeSi is by and large consistent.

32. Since the following is based on the assumption that the MeSi, in principle, stand for sung medial intonations, the distinction between MeSi and MeInt will not be made from now on unless where it serves a specific purpose.

33. The standard intonation melodies are well suited to this purpose; in most of them half-tone steps are included (cf. above, p.9).

34. See above, pp.45-46, and below, p.96.

35. Cf. below, pp.115 sq., 121, and 143 sq.

36. Numerous illustrative examples will be given below, in Chapter VII, passim.

37. Functional parallels could be adduced from organ accompaniment to congregational singing.

38. Cf. the examples from Sinai 1218 quoted above, p.61, and the examples in THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 6, paragraph 4 with notes 9-11.

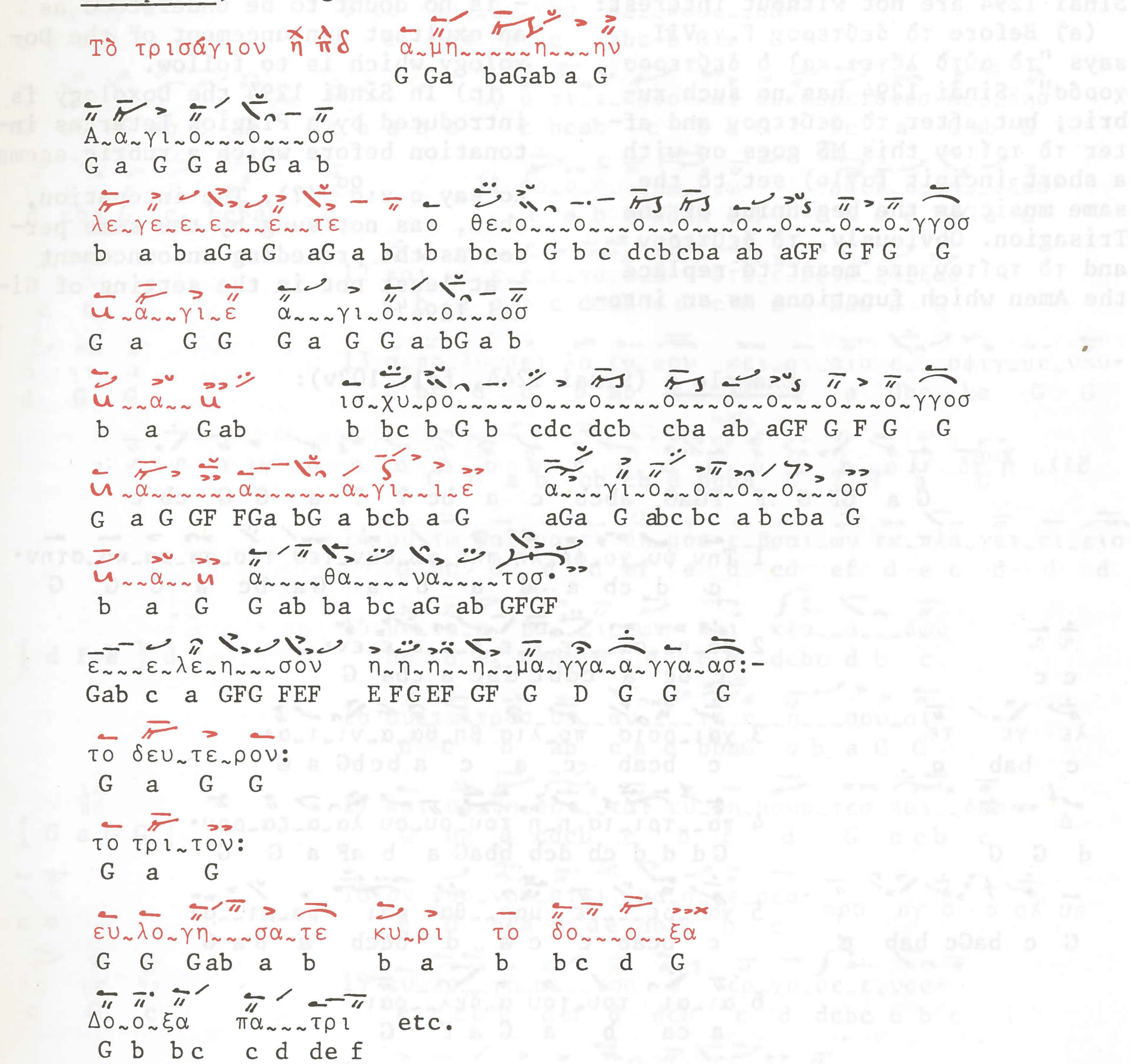
39. Cf. below, pp.114-115.

40. Cf. below, pp.106-107 and 145 sq.; also pp. 80 sq.

for repetitions we find sung intercalations of the words πάλιν, τὸ δεύτερον, and τὸ τρίτον, whereas variations are often marked by ἄλλον, occasionally by καὶ ἕτερον. The precise implications of other inlaid directions are not known - e.g. the frequently used λέγε and λέγετε and the more rare ψάλατε.

Examples 5 and 6 give an idea of the use of such intercalations[41]:

Example 5, A Plagios Tetartos Trisagion (Γ.γ.I, fol. 33v):



41. For examples of ἄλλον, see the cases listed in the introduction to the facsimile edition of Ashburnham 64 (MMB IV, p.29, note 2). Some Slavonic parallels are quoted below, p. 106. Stage directions occur also in the West, cf. JAMMERS, Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom, und im Frankenreich, Heidelberg 1962, p.232 and 246 (note 31) and THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 22, paragraph 3.

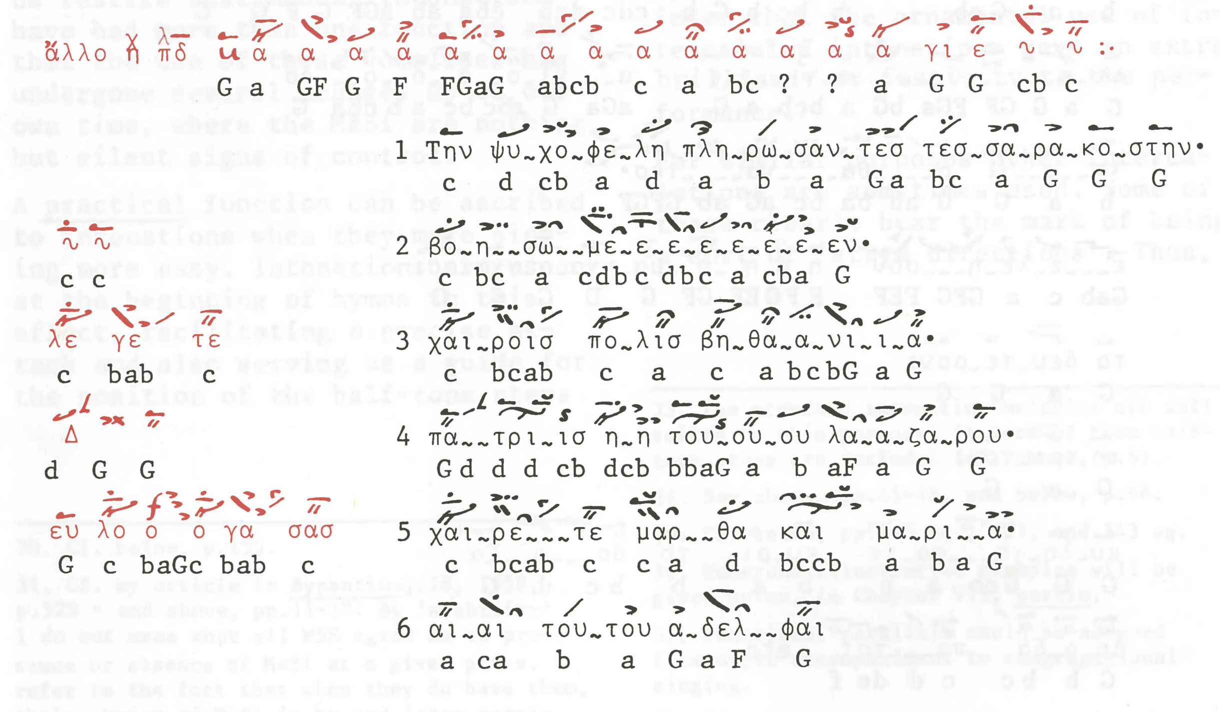
Notes to Example 5: I have compared the Trisagion from Γ.γ.I with two Trisagia in the Deuteros mode (Γ.γ. VII, 148r and Sinai 1294, 65r). Even though the melodies are, of course, not the same, the performance follows the same lines in all three sources. The rubrics in Γ.γ.VII and Sinai 1294 are not without interest:

(a) Before τὸ δεύτερον Γ.γ.VII says "τὸ αὐτὸ λέγει καὶ ὁ δεύτεροσ χορὸσ". Sinai 1294 has no such rubric; but after τὸ δεύτερον and after τὸ τρίτον this MS goes on with a short incipit (αγιο) set to the same music as the beginning of the Trisagion. Obviously, τὸ δεύτερον and τὸ τρίτον are meant to replace the Amen which functions as an intonation at the first singing of the Trisagion.

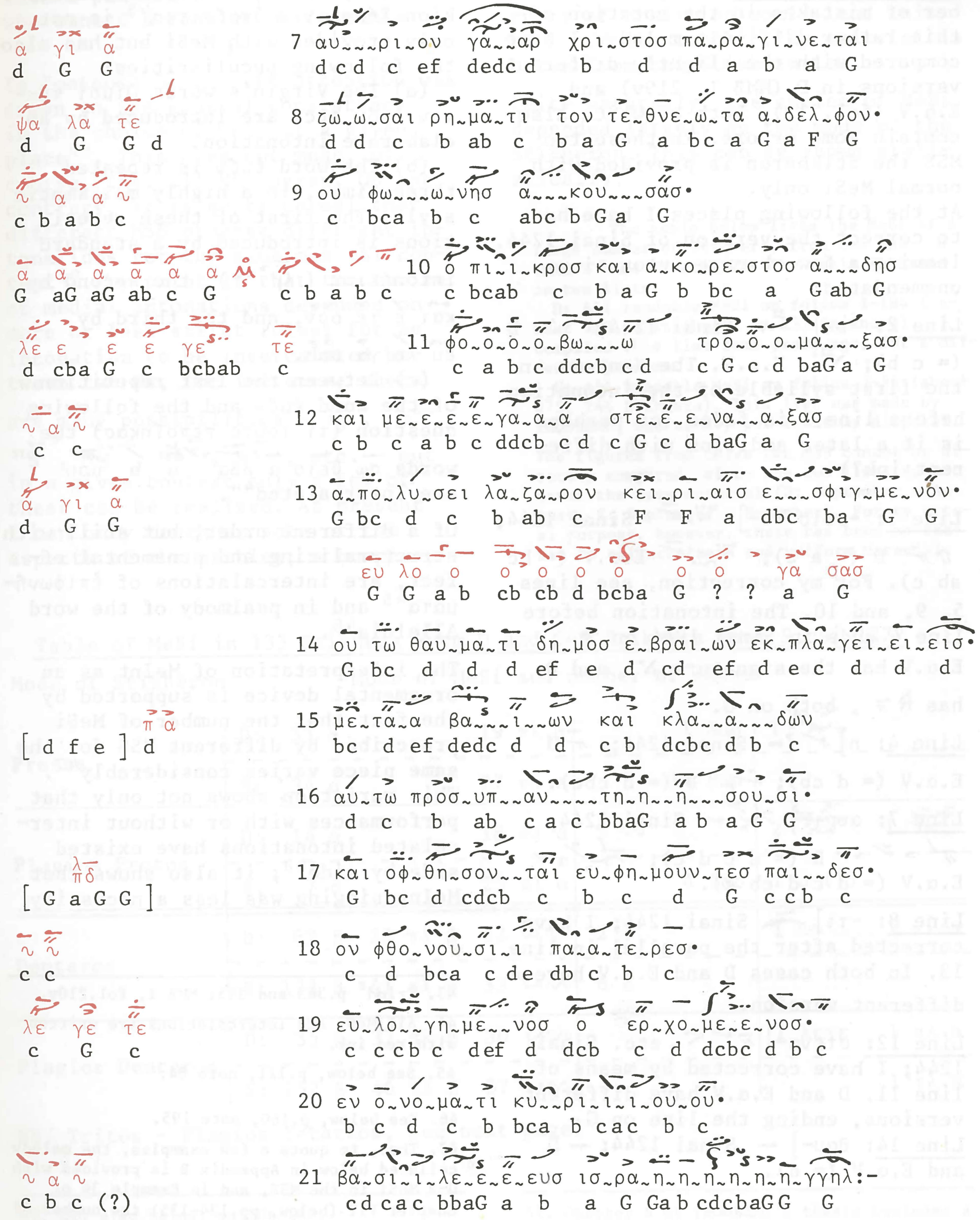
(b) Before Εὐλογήσατε Γ.γ.VII has the rubric "καὶ ὁ δομέστικοσ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματοσ λέγει", whereas the Sinai MS indicates "ὁ ἀναγνώστησ μονοφωνάρισ". This intercalation - with the curious shortening of κυρι - is no doubt to be understood as an exultant announcement of the Doxology which is to follow.

(c) In Sinai 1294 the Doxology is introduced by a Plagios Tetartos intonation before which a rubric seems to say ο μισ$^{\text{οσ}}$ (?). The intonation, then, was not sung by the same person as the preceding announcement - at least not in the setting of Sinai 1294[42].

Example 6 (Sinai 1244, fol. 102v):



42. For a description of parallels from other MSS, see BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO, Gli Àsmata nella musica bizantina, Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, Nuova serie, 14, 1960, pp.157-158.



Notes to Example 6: There are a number of mistakes in the notation of this rather difficult melody. I have compared with the slightly different versions in D (MMB I, 219v) and E.α.V (fol.71r), both of which also contain some errors. In these two MSS the Stikheron is provided with normal MeSi only.
At the following places I have had to correct the version of Sinai 1244, leaving a few obscure intonations unemendated:

Line 2: με] [neume] Sinai 1244; [neume] D (= c b); [neume] E.α.V. The Kentema on the first syllable of the intonation before line 3 is faded (or perhaps is it a later addition with different ink?)

Line 3: -ροισ πο-] [neume] Sinai 1244; [neume] D (= a c); [neume] E.α.V (= bc ab c). For my correction, see lines 5, 9, and 10. The intonation before line 4 ends in Sinai 1244 on [neume] ; E.α.V has the signature [neume] and D has [neume] , both on G.

Line 4: η] [neume] Sinai 1244; [neume] E.α.V (= d cb); [neume] D (= d cbc).

Line 7: αυρι-] [neume] Sinai 1244; [neume] D (= d c d c); [neume] E.α.V (= d c d cb c).

Line 8: -τι] [neume] Sinai 1244; I have corrected after the parallel in line 13. In both cases D and E.α.V have a different version.

Line 12: στενα-] [neume] etc. Sinai 1244; I have corrected by means of line 11. D and E.α.V have different versions, ending the line on G.

Line 14: θαυ-] [neume] Sinai 1244; [neume] D and E.α.V (= d).

☆

In E.α.V, fol.52v the Staurotheotokion Σήμερον ὁ ἀπρόσιτοσ[43] is not only provided with MeSi but has also the following peculiarities:

(a) The Virgin's words Οἴμοι τέκνον ἐμόν etc. are introduced by an elaborate intonation.

(b) The word ἐμόν is repeated three times, in a highly melismatic style. The first of these repetitions is introduced by a standard intonation ([neume]), the second by και ε τε ρον, and the third by ευ λο γα σασ.

(c) Between the last repetition of the word ἐμόν and the following question (τί τοῦτο πεποίηκασ) the words σω θεισ α ββα α α μου are intercalated[44].

Of a different order, but still with structuralizing and ornamental effect, are intercalations of ἐπιφωνήματα[45] and in psalmody of the word Alleluia[46].

The interpretation of MeInt as an ornamental device is supported by the fact that the number of MeSi prescribed by different MSS for the same piece varies considerably[47]. This variation shows not only that performances with or without intercalated intonations have existed side by side[48]; it also shows that MeInt singing was less a necessity

43. Triod^{r} p.363 and 395; MMB I, fol.210v.

44. All MeSi and intercalations are written with red ink.

45. See below, p.121, note 84.

46. See below, p.160, note 195.

47. Thus, to quote a few examples, the melody collated below in Appendix B is provided with 0-9 MeSi in the MSS, and in Example 34 of Chapter VII (below, pp.134-135) the number of MeSi varies from 0 to 29.

48. Cf. above, pp.12-13.

than a possibility open to those who wanted a festive performance.

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In footnote 31 on p.66 attention was drawn to the general consistency in the choice of MeSi at a given place[49]. This does not mean, of course, that all MSS agree. On the contrary, it is quite normal that different MSS propose different intonations for the same musical context[50]. My point is that the choice of medial intonations depended on more or less strict rules; for an intonation to be intercalated between two Gs, for instance, there are many possibilities - [neume] , [neume] , [neume] , [neume] , [neume] , [neume] , etc. - but in a given context only a few of these can be realized. At present I can only touch on some of the aspects of the problem; a comprehensive study of the underlying rules of tradition would lead this book off its track[51]. My material is taken from the Stikherarion.

Quite naturally, the choice of MeSi depended largely on the mode of the Stikheron. This can be shown statistically.

The table below lists the MeSi of a large number of Stikhera, from two MSS: D (MMB I) and Sinai 1227. The table is based on two lists:

D: All readable MeSi on folios 1-184 (about 450, distributed on 133 Stikhera). I compiled this list some years ago, for a different purpose.

S: All readable MeSi on folios 2-54 (about 875; 246 Stikhera). This list was made by THODBERG, who kindly put it at my disposal.

The figures from these two MSS cannot be directly compared, since the two lists do not cover the same material (D: September - August; S: September - November). For my actual purpose, however, there has been no reason to collect fresh and uniform material.

Table of MeSi in 133 Stikhera from D and 246 Stikhera from Sinai 1227

Mode of Stikheron		Mode of MeSi and number of cases					
Protos	D:	33 α	19 πλ α		1 βαρ	1 [neume]	
	S:	34 α	27 πλ α		14 βαρ		
Plagios Protos	D:	14 α	18 πλ α	5 [neume]		2 [neume]	1 [neume]
	S:	7 α	25 πλ α		4 βαρ	1 β (?)	
Deuteros	D:	62 β	20 πλ β	13 [neume]	2 δ	1 [neume]	1 πλ α
	S:	172 β	41 πλ β	33 [neume]	6 δ		
Plagios Deuteros	D:	35 β	37 πλ β	30 [neume]		1 λεγε	1 πλ α
	S:	152 β	46 πλ β	57 [neume]			1 πλ α

NB. Tritos - Plagios Tetartos, see next page!

49. Cf. also below, pp.106-107.

50. Numerous cases are included in the material discussed above, pp.13-17.

51. Chapter 6 of THODBERG's thesis includes a penetrating analysis of the connection between MeSi and the musical context.

Tritos	D:	17 ∾ 2 βαρ	1 α 7 πλ α	
	S:	19 ∾ 2 βαρ	4 πλ α	5 β
Barys	D:	1 βαρ	2 α	
	S:	1 ∾		
Tetartos	D:	28 δ 33 ∾	8 β 10 πλ β	16 πλ α
	S:	59 δ 8 ∾	30 β 10 πλ β	1 α 20 πλ α
Plagios Tetartos	D:	9 δ 14 πλ δ 14 ∾	3 β	
	S:	50 δ 21 πλ δ 13 ∾	5 β	4 πλ α

From the figures in the three columns it is evident that by far the most common MeSi are those of the same mode as the MSi and those of its authentic or plagal parallel mode (left column)[52]. In the middle column we find the MeSi of the respective μέσοι - and in the right column the few MeSi of the remaining four modes[53]. Although the details of this rough calculation must not be insisted on, the table has unmistakably shown that the choice of MeSi was mostly dictated by a feeling of modality.

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The ʺΕστησαν-material[54] can guide our next steps, as we have here detailed information about the way in which a great number of MSS treat the same melody. The tables of correct and abnormal MeSi which were included in Chapter II (above, p.18) confirm the general conclusion about the feeling of modality which we deduced from the table on pp.71-72. All we have to do is to 'translate' the figures from p.18 to fit the manner of presentation used above:

14 γ, 131 ∾ (including four abnormal) 7 βαρυσ	48 α 126 πλ α	9 δ (including one abnormal), 1 πλ δ 1 β (abnormal), 2 πλ β (abnormal)

But we can learn more from the ʺΕστησαν-collations. In the following table (p.73) I have extracted from the collation-folders the data of seven MSS, most of which are dated.

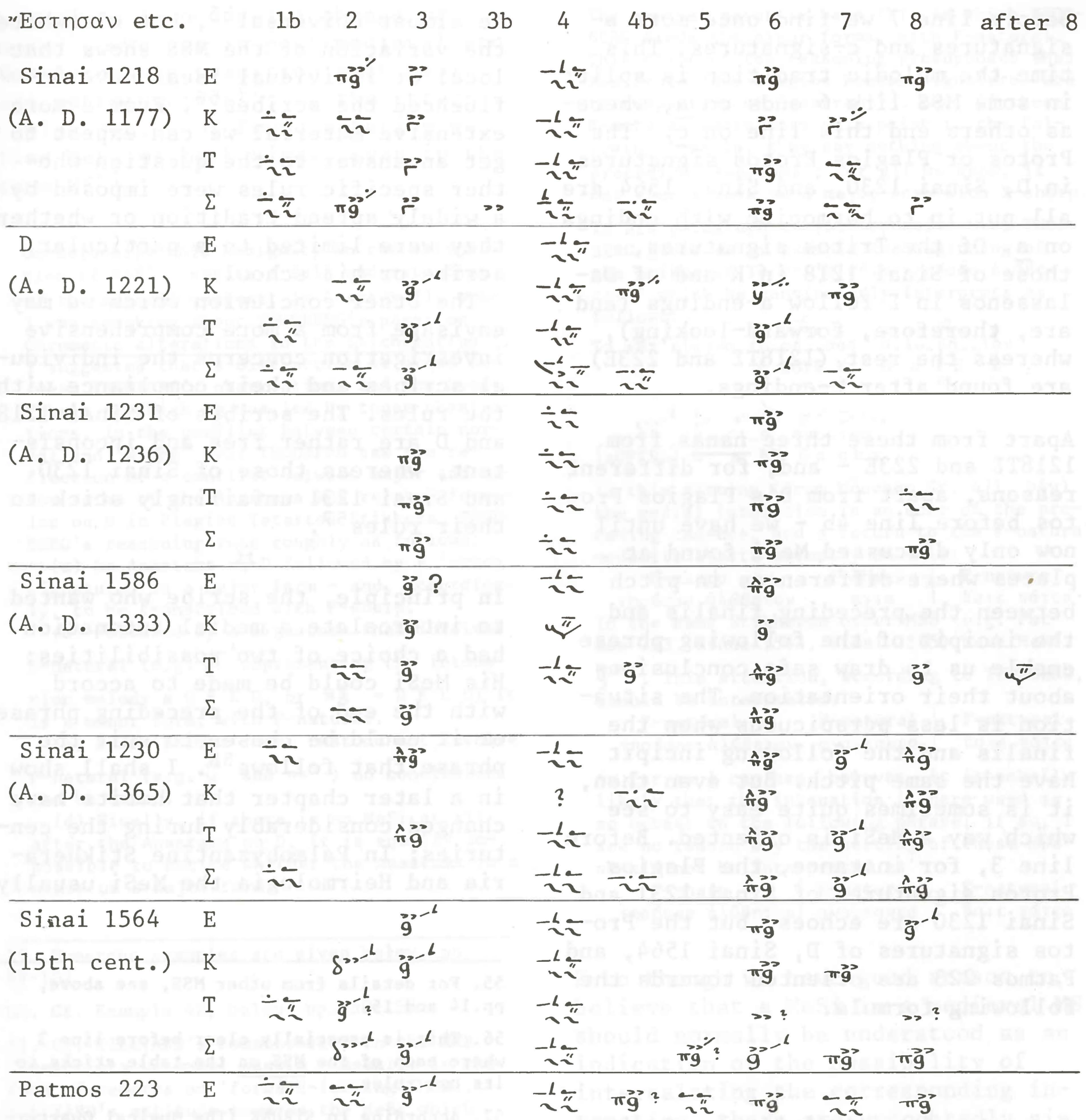
The table shows how widely different were the ideas held by the scribes - or their superiors - about which intonation to intercalate in a given context.

52. A noteworthy exception is that Plagios Tetartos MeSi are not used in Tetartos pieces (apart from nana).

53. The Tetartos is again 'abnormal', with many Plagios Protos MeSi.

54. Cf. above, pp.12 sqq. and below, Append. B.

Chapter V. Functions



In some cases are we able to grasp the principles (or tendencies) according to which the MeSi are employed. Thus, of the intonations prescribed before line 2, some look forward to the d of the next phrase (πg, δ), whereas others are chosen to suit the preceding finalis on c ( ).

Similarly, before line 4b the [neume] looks forward but the g of Sinai 1586 looks backward. As for the πg of D, it somehow looks both ways; the intonation body (a <u>c b a</u>) is an echo of the preceding b c <u>c b a</u>, while the intonation tail <u>a c</u> leads on to the c which follows.

Before line 7 we find once more a-signatures and c-signatures. This time the melodic tradition is split; in some MSS line 6 ends on a, whereas others end this line on c. The Protos or Plagios Protos signatures in D, Sinai 1230, and Sinai 1564 are all put in to harmonize with endings on a. Of the Tritos signatures, those of Sinai 1218 in K and of Dalassenos in Σ follow a-endings (and are, therefore, forward-looking), whereas the rest (1218TΣ and 223E) are found after c-endings.

Apart from these three nanas from 1218TΣ and 223E - and, for different reasons, apart from D's Plagios Protos before line 4b - we have until now only discussed MeSi found at places where differences in pitch between the preceding finalis and the incipit of the following phrase enable us to draw safe conclusions about their orientation. The situation is less perspicuous when the finalis and the following incipit have the same pitch. But even then, it is sometimes quite easy to see which way a MeSi is oriented. Before line 3, for instance, the Plagios Protos signatures of Sinai 1231 and Sinai 1230 are echoes, but the Protos signatures of D, Sinai 1564, and Patmos 223 are oriented towards the following formula.

Even though no definite conclusions can be drawn from the limited material included in the table on p.73, there are details in it which suggest lines that should be followed in future and more large-scale studies. It seems to be possible to reach valid conclusions of two kinds.

One of these concerns the rules according to which the MeSi are chosen. In situations like 1b and 4 on the table, the use of nana seems to be almost universal[55], but elsewhere the variation of the MSS shows that local or individual ideas have influenced the scribes[56]. From a more extensive material we can expect to get an answer to the question whether specific rules were imposed by a widely spread tradition or whether they were limited to a particular scribe or his school.

The other conclusion which we may envisage from a more comprehensive investigation concerns the individual scribes and their compliance with the rules. The scribes of Sinai 1218 and D are rather free and inconsistent, whereas those of Sinai 1230 and Sinai 1231 unfailingly stick to their rules[57].

☆

In principle, the scribe who wanted to intercalate a medial intonation had a choice of two possibilities: His MeSi could be made to accord with the end of the preceding phrase or it could be chosen to suit the phrase that follows[58]. I shall show in a later chapter that habits have changed considerably during the centuries: In Palæobyzantine Stikheraria and Heirmologia the MeSi usually

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55. For details from other MSS, see above, pp.14 and 15.

56. This is especially clear before line 3 where each of the MSS on the table sticks to its own rules.

57. According to STRUNK (The Musical Quarterly 1945, p.353, note 43) Koutloumousi 412 is "exhibiting unusual consistency and discrimination". The best approach to studies of the rules will be a careful analysis of a considerable number of Stikhera in a restricted number of MSS. This would enable us to describe the rules obeyed by each of the scribes, and afterwards to compare the different sets of rules.

58. Quite often the MeSi are equally well suited to both phrases, cf. the examples in THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 6, paragraph 4(a) and (b). For an example from D, see above, p.73 (on the Plagios Protos before line 4b).

introduce (announce) a change of mode[59], whereas in post-medieval and Neo-Byzantine tradition most MeSi are retrospective[60]; in the intervening period of Round notation we find MeSi of both kinds, even in the same MS[61].

Occasionally this ambiguity in the orientation of MeSi prevents a full understanding of the musical context. In Chapter II, when I was speaking about THODBERG's paper on Chromatic alterations in the Sticherarium[62], I suggested that a distinction be drawn between THODBERG's observations and the hypothesis to which he was led by those observations. In the conflict between certain normal and 'wrong' MeSi THODBERG saw the reflection of a conflict between major and minor forms of the Anastama and related formulas on D in Plagios Tetartos Stikhera. THODBERG's reasoning runs roughly as follows:

(a) An Anastama on D followed by a 'wrong' signature, is a major form - and, accordingly, to be transcribed with F-sharp.

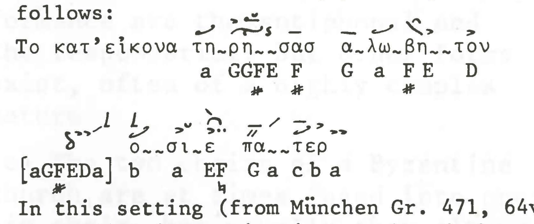
(b) Followed by a signature that involves F-natural (e.g. g representing the intonation melody a G F E D, or πg = D F E D) it is a minor form, with F-natural.

(c) From 'normal' MeSi that do not involve F-natural (e.g. y and πδ) no conclusions can be drawn.

(d) Finally, if there is no MeSi at all after the Anastama on D, it is equally impossible to decide whether the Anastama is a minor or a major form.

The crucial point is case (b), in which THODBERG finds the minor forms, with F-natural. This point of the reasoning presupposes that the Protos and Plagios Protos signatures are retrospective or 'central'[63]. But, if these F-natural indicators only point to the following formula, they say nothing about the preceding 'Anastama'; for all we know, it may even always be a major form with F-sharp.

In his paragraph on retrospective MeSi THODBERG gives as an example the beginning of the Stikheron Τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα τηρήσασ ἀλῶβητον[64] which he convincingly interprets as follows:



In this setting (from München Gr. 471, 64v) the medial intonation is an echo of the preceding cadence, and a return to the F-natural modality starts abruptly on οσιε:

F-sharp	F-sharp	F-natural
τηρήσασ ἀλῶβητον	αγια	ὅσιε πάτερ

In the same Stikheron other MSS (e.g. Patmos 223, Sinai 1564, Sinai 1585) have MeSi g. This situation, according to THODBERG, should be interpreted:

F-natural	F-natural	F-natural
τηρήσασ ἀλῶβητον	ανανεανεσ	ὅσιε πάτερ

As far as I can see, however, it is equally likely that the intonation is here used as an upbeat to the following phrase; if so, I see no reason why the setting of these MSS should not be interpreted as

F-sharp	F-natural	F-natural
τηρήσασ ἀλῶβητον	ανανεανεσ	ὅσιε πάτερ

Even though we have good reason to believe that a MeSi in a medieval MS should normally be understood as an indication of the possibility of intercalating the corresponding intonation, there are undoubtedly situations where this function cannot be ascribed to the MeSi[65]. We know that the signatures are nowadays not sung; they are nothing but μαρτυρίαι of pitch[66]. But though the develop-

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59. Numerous examples are given below, pp. 89-102.

60. Cf. Example 42, below, pp.150-152.

61. Cf. TILLYARD's commentaries in the MMB Transcripta volumes, passim - usually in the form of remarks on 'forward-looking' MeSi. TILLYARD's attitude towards the MeSi which "confirm the next progression" depends on his general understanding of the MeSi as signs of control. The problem is discussed, with many illustrative examples, in HØEG's introduction to the facsimile edition of Ashburnham 64 (MMB IV, pp.31-33) and has recently been studied by THODBERG in his thesis, Chapter 6, paragraph 4. THODBERG describes the following five types of medial intonations and signatures: (a) 'central' MeInt, (b) 'connecting' MeInt, (c) 'introductory' MeInt, (d) 'retrospective' MeInt, (e) "MeSi without connection with the melodic context".

62. Cf. above, pp.20 sqq.

63. Cf. above, note 61.

64. op. cit., Chapter 6, paragraph 4(d).

65. Cf. below, pp.124-125.

66. Cf. above, p.5.

ment from sung medial ἠχήματα to silent μαρτυρίαι cannot be followed in detail[67], it seems certain that MeSi could still be used in the old way as late as in the 16th century[68].

As for the use of 'silent' MeSi, the use of MeSi as pitch-symbols in the μετροφωνίαι[69] suggests that such silent MeSi properly belonged to the class-room.

67. Cf. below, p.153.

68. Cf. below, p.128.

69. Cf. above, p.53.

CHAPTER VI. PERFORMANCE

Prescriptions of the Typika[1], rubrics in liturgical MSS, analyses of the different musical styles, comparisons with Gregorian and other related bodies of chant, the singing of the Orthodox Church of to-day - these are the more conspicuous kinds of evidence which enable us to form a picture of the various ways in which Byzantine chant could be performed.

A coherent description of these patterns of singing exceeds the limits of the present book[2]. As background for the following, a few general notions and observations on the performance of Byzantine chant will suffice:

(a) Described in terms of performers, the singing of Byzantine church music is either soloist or choral, or a combination of both.

(b) If a unit of chant is not sung by the same person or persons throughout, the main types of performance are the antiphonal and the responsorial; but other forms exist, often of a highly complex nature[3].

(c) The two choirs of a Byzantine church are at times fused into one big choir, but usually they alternate according to rules which are set down in the Typika.

(d) A given hymn is not always necessarily performed in the same way. Thus, to mention a specific case, the Stikheron Νῦν εἰσ σημεῖον and its Prosomoia (from the office of the Gonyklisia) according to Sinai 756, fol.301 are soloist's pieces, performed by ὁ ψάλτησ, whereas Vatican Gr. 1606, fol.178 after each of the three hymns adds τὸ αὐτὸ ὁ ἕτεροσ χορὸσ, which implies choral performance. Similarly, in the rubrics for the Good Friday Hours, the two Grottaferrata MSS E.α.V (148r sqq.) and E.α.VI (101v sqq.) disagree, e.g. in the rubric to Σήμερον τοῦ ναοῦ:

E.α.V, 148r: εἶτα συναπτή, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἄρχεται ὁ ψάλτησ...
E.α.VI,101v: εἶτα συναπτή, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἄρχεται ὁ δεξιὸσ χορὸσ..

(e) A special device of Neo-Byzantine chant is the Ison-singing[4]. We do not know when this kind of per-

1. Edited in A. DMITRIEVSKI, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej, I,1895 and III,1917. The first volume of JUAN MATEOS's edition of Le Typicon de la Grande Église (Roma 1962; Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165) comprises only the fixed year.

2. See e. g. WELLESZ, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, 2nd edition, Oxford 1961, and REINHOLD SCHLÖTTERER, Die kirchenmusikalische Terminologie der griechischen Kirchenväter (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München), 1953.

3. For examples, see below, pp.124-125 and 144.

4. See e. g. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, pp. 290-302 and TARDO, pp.390-394.

formance was first introduced. Orthodox scholars maintain that it is very old; but the literary evidence which is put forward in support consists of descriptions of refrain-singing and does not say anything whatever about Ison-singing[5].

☆

Our problem is now to place the singing of intonations in this general framework. Logically the following six types of intonation singing could be considered:

I. If the intonations were sung by the same singer(s) as the hymn to which they belong, they would be sung
- (a) in soloist's pieces by the soloist
- (b) in choral pieces by the choir.

II. If the intonations were not sung by the same singer(s) as the hymn to which they belong, they would be sung
- (a) in soloist's pieces by a choir
- (b) in soloist's pieces by another soloist
- (c) in choral pieces by a soloist
- (d) in choral pieces by the other choir.

NB. Provided an Ison-singing took place, one further implication must be considered in cases II,a-d: Were the intonations sung by the same singer(s) as the Ison?

☆

In connection with their work on the Ashburnham Psaltikon, HØEG and WELLESZ have both put forward suggestions as to the performance of the medial intonations which are quite often indicated in this MS.

WELLESZ's last "editorial principle" includes the following observation on MeInt and MeSi: "It is impossible to say whether the full Intonation was sung, or just these few notes [viz. of the MeSi], or whether the Soloist who sang the Akathistos, hummed them inwardly in order to catch the right notes of the following phrase"[6]. WELLESZ is here considering a possibility which was described above as type I a.

HØEG's reasoning follows different lines. In a penetrating analysis of the signatures and intonations of the Ashburnham MS[7] he ventures some - cautiously worded - deductions from the ways in which the MeSi (and MeInt) are fitted into their musical context[8]. HØEG's main conclusion is that "le chant de la martyrie était exécuté facultativement par une voix autre que celle du chantre"[9]. Whether this "autre voix" was a soloist (my type II b) or a choir (my type II a) HØEG cannot decide[10]; there might be differences in the performance of different genres (HØEG, p.34, note 1) - or even local differences in the performance of pieces belonging to the same genre (ibid., p.34, top).

To these suggestions of HØEG and WELLESZ I should like to add the

5. Some of these descriptions are quoted by TARDO, p.391.

6. MMB Transcripta IX (Akath), p.LXVII; the underlining is mine.

7. MMB IV, Introduction, pp.30-34.

8. "Raccrochage à gauche" and "raccrochage à droite" (p.32), the latter being the same as TILLYARD's "confirmatory neumes".

9. ibid., p.34. The underlining is mine.

10. ibid., p.31: "Il faut donc croire que, au moment où le chantre terminait le Prooemium ... une autre voix (ou un choeur) devait exécuter l'échéma" (introducing the following Oikos). Cf. p.34, note 1: "Pour les Kontakia et l'Acathiste, il est naturel de penser que le Protopsalte ou un choeur chantait les échémas, les martyries et le refrain". Finally, note 1 on p.33 deserves to be quoted: "Quelques-uns de ces passages pourraient faire croire que le soliste était appuyé par un petit choeur qui tenait l'Ison".

following simple argument. An intonation (or its equivalent signature) prescribed at the very beginning of a hymn is generally understood to be meant as an indication of where the hymn is to begin. Now, in soloist openings there might be some doubt as to how this was handled in practice; but in pieces where a choir starts simultaneously (and in unison!), one singer must necessarily have had to guide them to the correct starting pitch, to avoid confusion[11].

Occasionally the Typika contain explicit information about the singing of intonations. Thus, in a description from A. D. 1292 of the Gonyklisia, the ceremony - after the Great Synapte - starts with a néane, sung by the Domestikos[12]. The intonation referred to here is undoubtedly the one which we know e.g. from the Ashburnhamensis (MMB IV, fol. 258r) - a long intonation of Plagios Deuteros (almost 4 lines in the MS)[13]. And a 15th cent. description of the performance of an Orthros Prokeimenon runs: καὶ ἀνέρχεται ὁ δομέστικοσ ἢ ὁ λαοσυνάκτησ μέχρι καὶ τριῶν βαθμιδῶν τοῦ ἄμβωνοσ καὶ ψάλλει μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀναγνωστῶν τὸ προκείμενον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ψάλλει ὁ δομέστικοσ ἐπὶ τὰ τέλη ἤχισμα (DMITRIEVSKI I, 166). This ἤχισμα is probably not one of the usual short intonations, but rather a composition of the type found, e.g., in Athens 2458, comprising several lines of melody to ekhematic syllables[14].

In the play of The Three Children in the Furnace, too, it is the Domestikos who according to the rubrics of Iviron 1120 sings ἠχήματα[15]. The precise interpretation of this description is uncertain[16], but "ἠχήματα" is probably also here to be understood as longer melismatic compositions, perhaps used as a frame for the Stikhoi of the 7th Canticle[17].

In a Typikon from A. D. 1573 the following description of an antiphonal performance of a Christmas Doxastikon deserves to be quoted: εἶτα δοξάζει ὁ δομέστικοσ τοῦ πρώτου χοροῦ εἰσ ἦχον πλ.β´, Καὶ νῦν ὁ ἕτεροσ, ἐντεῦθεν ἠχίζει ὁ πρῶτοσ καὶ ψάλλομεν στάσιν μίαν, ἠχίζει καὶ ὁ δεύτεροσ πάλιν τὸ αὐτό, δηλονότι δευτεροῦμεν ὅλον τὸ στιχηρὸν κατὰ στάσιν, τὸ δὲ τέλοσ τοῦ στιχηροῦ ἐκ γ´ (DMITRIEVSKI III, 342). This seems to be my type II c. Another source, however, of about the same

11. Cf. HØEG, op. cit., p.34, note 1.

12. DMITRIEVSKI I,889.

13. This particular Neanes is also found in Coislin sources; in STRUNK, The Byzantine office at Hagia Sophia, plate 11 shows an example from about the year 1100 (Grottaferrata, Γ.β.XXXV, fol.53r).

14. For instance Athens 2458, 42v sqq. Cf. also Messina 161, 68r-68v (described by BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO in Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata 13, 1959, p.132 and 14, 1960, p.154). In SCHLÖTTERER's thesis which I referred to above, p.77, note 2, the passage just quoted from DMITRIEVSKI I,166 is given as the only documentation for the word ἤχισμα. SCHLÖTTERER adds (op.cit.,p.45): "Es handelt sich vielleicht um eine Art abschliessendes Melisma. An sich sind solche Melismen am Anfang eines Stücks als Intonation üblich, ihre Bezeichnung ist ἤχημα, ἀπήχημα, ἐνήχημα. Diese Begriffe gehören jedoch zum Problemkreis der speziellen Musiktheorie. Dieses Gebiet bedarf einer ausführlichen Behandlung in einer eigenen Arbeit". I think that it would perhaps be more correct to refer to the 'Problemkreis der speziellen Musikpraxis'.

15. For the rubrics of Sinai 1527, see below, p.81, note 21.

16. VELIMIROVIC tentatively takes these ἠχήματα to be Kratemata, see his Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia (Dumbarton Oaks Papers 16, 1962), p.358.

17. ibid., pp.378-379, lines 23-80.

time does not mention the Domestikos at all; the description is somewhat unclear, but seems to allude to a performance of type I b[18].

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Kalophonic Stikheraria from the 14th and 15th centuries contain various settings of the said Christmas Doxastikon, Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου, and of its Epiphany counterpart Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἦλθεν βαπτισθῆναι.

1 Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεέμ 2 γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου
3 σήμερον ὁ ἄναρχοσ ἄρχεται 4 καὶ ὁ λόγοσ σαρκοῦται
5 αἱ δυνάμεισ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀγάλλονται 6 καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν τοῖσ ἀνθρώποισ εὐφραίνεται
7 οἱ μάγοι τὰ δῶρα προσφέρουσιν 8 οἱ ποιμένεσ τὸ θαῦμα θαυμάζουσιν
9 ἡμεῖσ δὲ ἀκαταπαύστωσ βοῶμεν 10 Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοισ θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆσ εἰρήνη
11 ἐν ἀνθρώποισ εὐδοκία.

In Sinai 1259, foll.158r-159r, each of the long-verses (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11) is introduced by a fairly elaborate intonation; no rubrics, however, reveal details of the actual performance. The combination of a simple melody and elaborate MeInt suggests type II c.

Sinai 1234 contains three settings of the Epiphany piece.

On fol. 223v it is ascribed to John Glykys; extended MeInt before lines 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 10; no details of performance, except the headline which says ἰδιόμελον ψαλλόμενον δίχορον μετὰ ἠχημάτων.

On fol. 230r the setting (by Korones) is quite different; the piece is divided into the usual long-verses and each long-verse is sung twice, first by ὁ δομέστικοσ (melismatic, with partial repetition and regrouping of words) and afterwards by ὅλοι, ἀποχοροῦ (simple melody). There is only one MeInt, a very long one before line 9; this MeInt is sung by the Domestikos; the other sections (both soloist and choral) begin with MeSi[19].

The third setting in Sinai 1234 (fol. 234v) is sung δίχορον. Before the introductory Δόξα... καὶ νῦν... the rubric says ὁ δομέστικοσ τοῦ δεξιοῦ χοροῦ μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. After the Amen, the rubric continues: εἶτα ἀναγινώσκει τὸ στιχηρὸν ὁ κανονάρχησ. Then follows an intonation + lines 1-2 of the Stikheron. After that, a rubric: τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἕτεροσ δομέστικοσ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ· εἶτα ἤχημαν ὁ δεξιόσ. The rest of the piece is divided into long-verses, each of these being introduced by extensive MeInt - and each section being sung first by ὁ δεξιόσ and then by ὁ ἀριστερόσ. The τέλοσ (i.e. lines 10-11) is followed by an ἕτερον τέλοσ which has a short MeInt before line 11.

18. DMITRIEVSKI, III,376: ἠχίζει ὁ πρῶτοσ χορὸσ καὶ ψάλλομεν στάσιν μίαν, ἠχίζει καὶ ὁ β´ πάλιν τὸ αὐτό.

19. The choral repetition of lines 5-6 is interesting because of its start: [neumes] αι δυναμεισ etc. It is not clear, however, whether a whole MeInt was sung here, or just the tail as prescribed. Cf. below, pp.149-150.

The MS Athens 2458 (14th century) contains a good many rubrics describing different ways of performance. Thus, on fol. 161v, τὸ χερουβικὸν ἀσματικόν (ἀπὸ χοροῦ) is introduced by a short MInt, sung by the Domestikos. The text itself is sung by ὅλοι.

☆

A thorough investigation of these late MSS would probably bring to light a good many similar cases from which the performance of intonations in particular pieces could be seen. But even then, the main problem would still be there: Is this late evidence of any value for the period before the 14th century and for non-kalophonic chant? It is obvious, I think, that MSS like Sinai 1259, which give only the setting of Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου, cannot give us any information about how Stikhera were generally performed. On the contrary, the context in which these pieces are transmitted makes it more plausible that we are here facing exceptions. And so the question will be whether these exceptions are innovations or venerable relics of an older practice[20].

In the late MSS that I have consulted, full intonations have either been given without any indication of performer, or have been assigned to the Domestikos. I have met no case where the choir or the Protopsaltes is mentioned directly as singer of an intonation[21]. So, even though the material is too scanty to constitute a formal proof that the singing of intonations always lay with the Domestikos, this certainly holds good in some genres, in the later centuries[22]. For the earlier period evidence is still lacking for a working hypothesis of that kind.

In Analecta Sacra I, pp. LXXV and 677 PITRA put forward some ingenious explanations of the mystical word ἀνακλώμενον which he sometimes found, in strange abbreviations, before the refrain of the Oikoi of Kontakia. These strange abbreviations are no doubt to be understood as symbols of ἠχήματα. They are found in MSS of the 11th and 12th centuries, if not earlier[23], and their place just before the refrain definitely seems to indicate that their function was to 'give the pitch' to those who were to sing the refrain (choir or congregation). If that is so, we have here once more type II c. Whether this intonation was sung by the same Psaltes as the Oikos, or by another (the Domestikos!) cannot be decided; its function, at least, makes it likely that it was sung by a soloist[24].

☆

Circumstantial evidence as to performance of intonations may also be sought in the manner in which the intonations are written in the MSS. As a rule both MInt and MeInt are in red - although in all periods we meet exceptions where the intonations are written with the same black or brown ink as the rest of

20. Cf. below, pp.146-147.

21. In a 16th cent. MS the Psaltai are once said to sing ἠχίσματα:"λέγουσι δὲ οἱ ψάλται διὰ μέσον καὶ ἠχίσματα εἰσ ἦχον πλάγιον δ´" (Sinai 1527, which I quote from VELIMIROVIC, Liturgical Drama (cf. above, p.79, note 16), p.380 lines 132 sqq.). These ἠχίσματα, however, are probably not standard intonations, cf. above, p.79.

22. In 19th cent. Typika the Kanonarch appears in connection with modal announcements; cf. above, p.37.

23. Apart from PITRA, nobody seems to have paid any attention to these intonation syllables. They will be described below, pp. 115-116.

24. Cf. above, p.79.

the hymn. They share this red ink with other insertions - λέγε, λέγετε, πάλιν, ὁμοίωσ, τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον, ψάλατε[25] - and with other elements which at times are used instead of MInt (δόξα, ἀμήν, etc.)[26]. On the other hand, intonation syllables used in the filling out of melismata - like those mentioned by HØEG in MMB IV, pp. 27 sqq. - are usually written with the normal text-ink. The leading principle would seem to be that red ink in these cases is a symbol meaning "sung by somebody else". For our present purpose it should also be noted that the meaning of many of these words implies a situation where they are addressed to somebody else. This is particularly obvious in the imperatives λέγε, λέγετε, ψάλατε - but the other exclamatory utterings also seem to demand at least some sort of audience[27].

✧

I have now put forward the evidence (both direct and circumstantial) for the hypothesis that the intonations (both MInt and MeInt) were not sung by the same singer(s) as the hymns to which they belong. There were several details which pointed towards the Domestikos[28]. This would fit perfectly into the general picture of the rôle of the Domestikos as director of the choir[29]. For soloist's pieces the evidence, as far as I know, is too meagre to allow of any definite conclusions. There is, however, nothing in the material that speaks against the idea that the intonations were usually sung by the Domestikos also in these genres.

Only one source shows intonations sung by more than one person - Konstantine Porphyrogennetos's Book of Ceremonies, according to which the intonations to some choral pieces were sung by the Kraktai[30]. The most conspicuous of these cases is the Δοξάζομέν σε Χριστέ, where οἱ κράκται sing intonations before the hymn and after each half-verse; the hymn itself is sung by ὁ λαόσ[30a]. I have deliberately postponed the Kraktai until now, not only because the hymns referred to are part of non-ecclesiastical court music, but also because the description can be interpreted in different ways. Indeed, there is not even complete agreement as to the number of the Kraktai. To HANDSCHIN[31] the descriptions of the ceremonies (and of the fee given to the Kraktai) suggest that their number was very restricted, in all likelihood 2 Kraktai in each of the two factions - but the validity of HANDSCHIN's reasoning is doubted by WELLESZ[32]; to him, the Kraktai were two groups of singers,

25. Cf. above, pp.66 sqq., and below, p.121, note 84.

26. Cf. also below, p.121, note 86.

27. Even though these inserted words may later have become fossils, deprived of actual meaning, there must have been a time when that was not the case.

28. WELLESZ (History, 2nd ed., p.309) refers the intonation singing in Kanons to the Kanonarch or to the Protopsaltes.

29. Cf. Gabriel's description of the cheironomy (TARDO, p.196): Πρὸσ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ δομεστίκου χεῖρα ἰ.παντεσ ἀποβλέποντεσ συμφωνοῦμεν. Cf. also the 12th cent. Aristoteles commentary, quoted by HØEG in MMB IV, Introduction, p.34, note 1.

30. For intonations in the Book of Ceremonies, see below, pp.114-115.

30a. II,78 p.125 (R 319).

31. Das Zeremonienwerk, pp. 72 sqq.

32. History, 2nd edition, p.103, note 3.

two choirs. The use of the plural, οἱ κράκται, is inconclusive; after all, a soloist's part can easily be doubled and the music still be soloistic[33]. As I have already pointed out in Chapter V (p.66), Konstantine's descriptions support the hypothesis that sung MeInt had a structuralizing and aesthetical (ornamental) function - but they are not, in my opinion, of any help in deciding the possible rôle which the choir played in the singing of intonations in church music.

✧

It has been suggested - by HØEG in the introduction to his facsimile edition of Ashburnham 64 - that the 'confirmatory' neumes, which are often written with red ink above the melody immediately after a MeSi or MeInt, were sung by the intonation-singer(s) at the same time as the other singer(s) continued the chant[34]. HØEG's suggestion is inspired by the way in which the 'confirmatory' neumes at times continue for several syllables - quite unnecessarily, if these red neumes were only meant to confirm the pitch of the melody in relation to the preceding signature. In a footnote HØEG mentions an alternative explanation of the red neumes after medial signatures, viz. that they are variants - but he is not in favour of this explanation, since it involves a new difficulty, that of explaining why variants are more frequent immediately after a signature than elsewhere[35].

There are in fact many details which support HØEG's objection to the idea that the red neumes after MeSi are variants. Thus, of the six examples quoted by HØEG, those from folios 149r and 160v cannot possibly be variants, since the red melody is an exact duplicate of the melody proper.

In the same footnote the red neumes are tentatively connected with Ison singing. HØEG's hypothesis, which is stated in rather vague terms, implies that the Ison singers went on from their Ison to sing the medial intonation plus the red neumes, after which they would then go on with their Ison.

Quite recently, EWALD JAMMERS has approached Ison singing from a new angle, in his book on Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich[36]. In a fascinating chapter on Das vormittelalterliche Organum (pp.180-204) Professor JAMMERS puts forward the theory that the organum singing was introduced at the Papal services in Rome to imitate the Ison singing at the Imperial services in Constantinople[37]. These ideas are highly suggestive and the reconstructions which are given by JAMMERS to illustrate the "Haltetontechnik" (pp.194-195) are

33. Cf. SCHLÖTTERER, p.13, on "mehrfach besetzten Sologesang": "Die Verstärkung ist möglicherweise durch räumlich-akustische Gegebenheiten bedingt".

34. MMB IV, Introduction, p.33: "les martyries, avec les notes qui les suivent, constituent un élément de chant qui se superpose a la mélodie proprement dite ou qui s'y ajoute". The underlining is mine.

35. ibid., p.33, note 1.

36. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 1962, 1.Abhandlung.

37. "Und so ergibt es sich doch mit Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass man - etwa zu Vitalians Zeiten, um den mehrfachen Quellen zu folgen - unbeachtet der Machtlosigkeit gerade dieses Papstes in Rom als Gegenstück zu dem kaiserlichen Gepränge eine 'päpstliche' Liturgie einrichtete, d. h. den altgewohnten gregorianischen Gottesdienst mit besonders prunkvollem Ritual vollzog, und das Organum gehörte also zu diesem Prunk". (ibid., p.198).

not unconvincing, although their hypothetical character must not for a moment be forgotten; relevant literary or musical evidence from the Byzantine area is completely lacking[38] and we simply are not in a position to tell whether Ison singing was practised in Byzantium in the Middle Ages.

All that we can say is that if Ison was sung in the period when medial intonations were used for practical or ornamental purposes, there was probably some kind of connection between the two, though other solutions than HØEG's might be taken into consideration.

Personally I feel that one should stress the rôle of the Domestikos as director of the choir; I am in favour of considering a performance in which the medial intonations (sung by the Domestikos alone) lead up not only to the following part of the melody but also to the Ison (which I think was momentarily interrupted while the Domestikos was singing his short vocalises). From a practical point of view the prolonged note at the beginning of each intonation tail would be an ideal starting point for the Ison singers[39].

Professor JAMMERS has quite naturally used actual Ison singing of our own days to illustrate how flexible the rules of medieval Ison singing (and primitive Papal organum!) may have been. This flexibility is rightly praised by Neo-Byzantine musicologists, but at the same time it is a serious obstacle to any efforts to prove an early existence of Ison singing from an analysis of the melodies for which the Ison was supposedly sung[40].

Ison singing as practised nowadays is performed by the choir[41]. The only early source that describes Ison singing clearly, is CRUSIUS. According to his description, the Ison was sung by one voice[42]. So, either the methods of performance have changed completely, or CRUSIUS's informant was mistaken.

38. Cf. above, pp.77-78.

39. In 'normal' pitch as follows: D in Protos, G in Deuteros, a(?) in Tritos, G in Tetartos, D in Plagios Protos, E in Plagios Deuteros, F in Barys, and G in Plagios Tetartos.

40. A detailed description of Neo-Byzantine Ison singing, including very interesting and clear examples of the flexible Ison, is given by PANAGIOTOPOULOS, pp.290-302.
JAMMERS's theory is discussed in THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 22, paragraph 1.
In The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music (Proceedings of the British Academy 39, 1953, pp.37-66) HØEG's transcription of the Heirmoi of Ἄσωμεν πάντες λαοί (pp.61-66) is provided with indications of Ison, put in according to ideas which HØEG describes ibid., p.60.

41. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.289.

42. Turcograeciae libri octo, Basileae 1584, p.197: "Cantus figuralis apud Græcos non est: nisi quod Cantores in Templis, uariata interdum uoce, eam imitari conantur; et more utriculariorum nostrorum, alius uocem eodem sono tenet: alius, Dra, Dra, saltatorium in modum canit". My underlining.

CHAPTER VII.
ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BYZANTINE INTONATION SYSTEM

Each of the preceding chapters has dealt with some basic notion of signatures and intonations. In isolating the various aspects of the subject, I usually had to sacrifice the chronological approach. In fact, when chronology came into the picture at all, more often than not I had to follow the track backwards in time, being forced to this approach by the nature of my sources.

In a way, this method has not only been dictated by the nature of the sources. The case is rather that the nature of the subject itself makes backward movements more fruitful. This is due, I think, to the essential feature of the development of the Byzantine system of notation - perhaps, even, of any notational system: the tendency towards more and more precision and explicitness[1]. This growing explicitness enables us to understand older phenomena in the light of more recent and more explicit sources. The danger of the method is obvious. We always face the possibility of some changes having been made en route from older to more recent sources.

Such changes are the subject-matter of the present chapter which is thus a corollary to the previous ones. The changes which have taken place during the period covered by the MSS preserved are, however, only a part of this concluding section of the investigation. As indicated - somewhat pretentiously - in its title, the chapter is also an attempt to reach back into even more remote times, and try to come as near as possible to the very origin of Byzantine intonation singing.

☆

In my summary of STRUNK's Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes from 1945, I quoted his final conclusion about "the law of melodic adjustment, the law requiring that, when two melodies stand in immediate succession, the first must be accommodated to the second by means of an appropriate treatment of its ending"[2]. STRUNK and GIOVANNI MARZI[3] have amply demonstrated the 'tail-mechanism',

1. Cf. above, pp.11 and 46. Reasons of explicitness accounts for the change from primitive to developed Coislin notation (as well as for that from Coislin to Round) and the introduction of the great hypostases of 'Koukouzelian' notation - to mention only a few well-known topics. Cf. also the development of the accentual system in Greek MSS.
In the end, such strivings towards perfect explicitness cease to be useful and end up as carricatures of their intended explicitness - and death or simplification will follow, cf. Byzantine notation in the 19th century.

2. Above, p.3, note 14.

3. GIOVANNI MARZI, Melodia e nomos nella musica bizantina (for full title, see above, p.6, note 33). It is to be noted that MARZI at the time had no access to STRUNK's article from 1945 (MARZI, p.88 nota).

the way in which the intonation is accommodated to fit the opening pattern of the melody. Also THODBERG's recent works[4] have detailed analyses of the connection between intonation and melodic incipit, though the orientation of THODBERG's studies makes him stress other aspects of the question. Common to these scholars is the fact that they on the whole use sources in Round notation only. In fact, the amazing stability of the manuscripts in their choice of signatures and intonations has, theoretically speaking, been demonstrated only for the later part of written tradition. As it is, the possibility exists that the whole interplay between intonation and incipit was created at the same time as the Round notation itself, or at least that the system was thoroughly remodelled after the creation of a precise interval notation.

Now, in later Coislin notation the signatures (MSi) in some manuscripts are more or less consistently 'differentiated', the modal indication consisting of a letter-numeral + a group of neumes. Such MSS, if compared with later sources, certainly ought to settle the question as to how far the introduction of the Round notation meant a change of intonation habits[5].

Some years ago I went through the Stikherarion Ancien fonds grec 356 in Paris, a MS with Coislin notation and almost constantly differentiated MSi. The MS is in places rather worn, and not all MSi can be read with certainty. However, as I have listed all those that were readable, adding in each case the incipit of the melody, the data of this MS are comprehensive enough to be used for the present purpose.

My list contains information about MSi + incipit for 288 Stikhera, of which only 31 have undifferentiated MSi. For the first five modes I have compared this material with the Dalassenos Stikherarion (MMB I); for Plagios Deuteros, Barys, and Plagios Tetartos I have had access to Professor STRUNK's typewritten index to Koutloumousi 412[6].

The MSi in Paris Gr. 356:

PROTOS: 42 cases of which 6 have undifferentiated MSi. In accordance with STRUNK's nomenclature, the differentiated MSi can be described as follows:

a 23 cases. Main form >>/' ; by-forms //', >>/, >>'/.

D2 6 cases. Graphical forms >>, ⩩, ⩩, //.

D1 5 cases. Main form >>/'; by-form ⩩ ~'.

x 2 cases, both of which with the shape >>~ .

4. THODBERG's thesis, especially Chapter 6, paragraphs 2 and 4.

5. The older MSS, with undifferentiated MSi, are too difficult to use at this point of the investigation, since in principle they can only reveal stability in modal assignment. The spelling out of the initial neumes in a melody might, perhaps, give us some idea of the preceding intonation, but material of this kind would be too meagre to allow of any definite conclusion.

6. For the sake of clarity the modal letters are left out in the following description, which gives the 'tails' only. The symbols a, D2, D1 etc. refer to the nomenclature used by STRUNK in the index to Koutloumousi 412 and in his article in The Musical Quarterly 1945, pp.351 sqq. The "x" stands for cases which cannot with certainty be described with Prof. STRUNK's symbols.

ad D2: In some of these cases either D or K or both have ⩩/ + >x .

ad D1: This MSi is not found in D and only once in K (200v Θαυμαστή, with the incipit C D b c but with a variant a a b c to which the usual a-MSi belongs). The melodies in D and K usually start D D a (MSi: a), but the data of Paris Gr. 356 suggest that this may have been a substitute for an original opening C D a (with D1 as MSi).

ad x: On 41v used for Στήλη ἔμψυχοσ which begins on D; on 88v used for Χορὸσ τετραδεκαπυρσευτόσ, beginning EF.

DEUTEROS: 66 cases of which 4 have undifferentiated MSi.

b 35 cases. Main forms >>/', >>'/, //' ; by-forms ⩩', >>/', //', //'.

G 23 cases. Main form ~ ; by-forms ~, ~, ~.

a 1 case, 85r ἦ β ʹʹ Ὅσιε πάτερ ὢσ πόλιν, where both D 114v and K 98r have MSi a1 (⩩/).

x 3 cases: ⩩ 53r, // 75r, // 110v. All these hymns begin b a G ab b .

ad b: In two cases (89v and 130v) the melodic incipit EF D G G would seem to demand a MSi corresponding to the Round β\ (STRUNK's •G).

ad x: Whether the MSi of Paris Gr. 356 in these 3 cases is a mere graphical variant of the usual b-MSi, or a special one, is not possible to say. It is noteworthy, however, that these 3 hymns are the only ones in the Paris MS with exactly this opening.

TRITOS: 19 cases of which 4 have undifferentiated MSi. In this mode the picture is not so clear as in the other modes. The parallels in D and K suggest that the a-MSi is indicated by //' (5 times, >>/ (2 times), ⩩ (fol. 29v), and //⩩ (fol. 67v). The c-MSi is given as //' (47r, 67v), >>'/ (120r), >> (57r), and >> ⩩ (?, 70r). The last case is ⩩' on 37v. In D and K this Stikheron, Ρητορικοῖσ ἔπεσιν, starts on a; but as the first neumes in Paris Gr. 356 are ⩩ ⩩ – //', there is reason to believe that the MSi means c.

TETARTOS: 45 cases, including 4 with undifferentiated MSi.

d 13 cases. Main forms >>/' and //' ; by-forms >>/ and >>'/.

G 28 cases. Main form >> ; by-forms ⩩ , ⩩ , and >x.

In the Stikhera with d-MSi, the first neume in the Paris MS is never a descending sign, but in the 28 cases with G-MSi the first group is always > , >x , or ⩩ . Now, most of the hymns which have the G-MSi are in the Vienna Stikherarion provided with d-MSi plus incipit >x . This difference between the two MSS shows an interesting development of the connecting technique[7].

PLAGIOS PROTOS: 17 cases, including 1 with undifferentiated MSi.

D1 3 cases: ~ 39v and 121r, ⩩ 90v.

7. For variation between G-intonations and d-intonations before G-openings, see above, pp.34-35.

D2 5 cases: four times ⁄⁄ (36r perhaps ⁄⁄), once ⁄⁄ (59r).

E 3 cases, all of which ⁄⁄'.

G 1 case: >>⁄ (used on 85v for 'Ὁσιε πάτερ, where D 115r has the G-signature).

x1 1 case: \\⁄⁄ (80v, Ὁρῶσα).

x2 3 cases: ⁄⁄' (12r, Ὁποῦ ἐπισκιάσει; 42v, Προεόρτιοσ ἡμέρα) and >>⁄' (63r, Πρωτομάρτυσ).

ad E: Used on 59v for Εὐφραινέσθωσαν (where D, 97v, has πg̃), on 52v for Δεῦτε χριστοφόροι (where D, 91v, has the F-signature), and on 60r for Ὁρῶσα (where D, 98r, has the D2-MSi).

ad x1: D, 110r, has πg̃.

ad x2: Probably to be connected with a start on C (like the D1-MSi). The Vienna MS has πg̃ in all these cases.

PLAGIOS DEUTEROS: 47 cases, including 7 undifferentiated.

D2 5 cases. Main form >>˘ ;

by-form ⁄⁄˘.

E 15 cases. Main form ⁄⁄ ;

by-form ⁄⁄.

F 7 cases. Main form ⁄⁄' ;

by-forms ⁄⁄' , >>⁄' ,

and ⁄⁄˘ .

G 3 cases, twice as ⁄⁄' , once as >>⁄.

a 9 cases, always as πB.

D1? On fol. 90v, Φέροντεσ τὰ παρόντα has a partly erased MSi. As far as I can see, the π of the signature πB has been removed, thus changing the mode from Plagios Deuteros to Deuteros. Whether the change also affected the tail of the signature, I cannot tell[8].

BARYS: The only cases are Βαρυ on fol. 44r and Βαρυ on 52v. In both cases K prescribes the F-signature.

PLAGIOS TETARTOS: 50 cases, including 5 undifferentiated.

F 4 cases, all of them as \\˘ .

G 11 cases. Main form ⁄⁄ ;

by-form — .

a1 4 cases: >⁄ , ⁄⁄ , ⁄ , and ⁄ .

a2 3 cases, all of them as ⁄ (on fol.86r perhaps ⁄).

c 12 cases: 7 times πΔ (or πΔ),

4 times >>⁄ , 20r >> .

x1 3 cases, all of them ⁀ .

x2 4 cases, all of them ⁄⁄' .

x3 2 cases, both of them ⁄⁄' .

x4 2 cases, both of them >>⁄ .

ad c: πΔ obviously means

; >>⁄ might be interpreted

; >> is obscure.

ad x1-4: For x1 D and K in all 3 cases have the a1-signature + initialis >> ; for x2, x3, and one of the x4 cases, D and K constantly have the G-signature + initialis ⁄ or ⁄ (= a); for the other instance of x4, D and K have the c-signature + initialis ⁄ (= d). I am inclined to take ⁀ for a variant of the a1-signature, whereas the other three forms are probably , used to introduce an ⁄ on a or on d.

8. The same modal instability is seen in other MSS, cf. above, p.34, note 32.

The material included in this comparison between the Palæobyzantine Paris Gr. 356 and the Round notation MSS D and K seems to permit the following conclusions:

(a) In the majority of cases the differentiation in Paris Gr. 356 corresponds exactly to that of D and/or K.

(b) In some cases the tail-neumes of the Paris MS do not conform with signatures or intonations in D and K.

(c) The relation between tail and incipit of the Palæobyzantine MS is usually the same as is found in the Round sources[9].

The undifferentiated MSi of the earlier MSS make it impossible to push this line of research further back in time. As it is, we are not in a position to demonstrate any real change (of an early date) in the system of adapting intonation to incipit of melody.

✡

As to the use of medial intonations, the situation is somewhat different - due to the fact that MeSi are found even in our oldest sources. These MeSi are usually undifferentiated, also in MSS where the MSi are provided with tail-neumes[10]. Some details, therefore, are out of our reach. But even so, the old MSS contain ample material that enables us to form definite opinions about the use of medial intonations and medial signatures from the 10th century onwards.

<u>Medial Signatures in Palæobyzantine Stikheraria.</u>

The general picture of the use of MeSi in Palæobyzantine Stikheraria seems to be so clear that the leading principles can be shown on the basis of one single MS. For that purpose the MS Vatopedi 1488 is excellently suited. This MS contains the standard abridged version of the Triodion and Pentekostarion in Coislin notation and an Oktoekhos in Chartres notation; besides, it contains a considerable number of Stikhera from the old (unabridged) répertoire, also in Chartres notation[11]. As shown by STRUNK, the Coislin part of the MS must be one of the earliest copies of the standard abridged version, coming very near in time to the invention of the developed Coislin notation (about A. D. 1050). Finally, the forthcoming facsimile edition by STRUNK[12] makes Vatopedi 1488 suitable for purposes of reference.

For practical reasons I have only used the Pentekostarion and the Oktoekhos (folios 128v-215v), since the standard pieces are here accessible in TILLYARD's volumes of <u>MMB Transcripta</u>[13]. On these 88 folios I have found MeSi in 66 Stikhera, about 75 MeSi in all.

A few examples will show the situations in which MeSi are used in Vatopedi 1488[14]:

9. Comparisons with other MSS will probably explain most of the cases where the old MS does not conform to the practice of D and K. For my present purpose, however, it is unnecessary to follow this line of investigation; its proper place is in a study of the developed Coislin notation.

10. Even in some old Round MSS the MeSi are still not differentiated. In this respect the South Italian tradition seems to be extraordinarily conservative, cf. late MSS such as E.α.I and E.α.VI, both from the 13th cent.

11. The MS was discovered by STRUNK in the early fifties, cf. his article on the Chartres notation (<u>Annales Musicologiques</u> 3,1955, pp.7-37) where the importance of the MS is explained.

12. MMB IX.

13. <u>MMB Transcripta III</u> (Oct I), <u>V</u> (Oct II), and <u>VII</u> (Pent).

14. The letter 'transcriptions' under the lines of text are made from TILLYARD's publications mentioned in note 13.

Example 1 (Vatopedi 1488, 174v; Pent p.168; Coislin notation):

```
πλ δ   1 Ασ‿μα‿τι‿κην χο‿ρει‿αν         2 κρο‿τη‿σω‿μεν ση‿με‿ρον
         G  G  a  FG  G   a  G             G GFE F  G   a FE  D

       3 των απ’ αι‿ω‿νοσ α‿‿γι‿ων       4 τε‿λουν‿τεσ μνη‿μην φαι‿δραν
         D   E   FG a  EF  Ga  a  G        G    a   cb  cb   a    G   G

δ      5 ου‿τοι γαρ εν τη σι‿ων etc.
         G  d    d   d  d  d  ef
```

Example 2 (Vatopedi 1488, 191v; Oct I p.56; Chartres notation):

```
πλ α   1 Κυ‿ρι‿ε τα υ‿περ‿λαμ‿πον‿τα σου θαυ‿μα‿τα τισ δι‿η‿γη‿ση‿ται
          F  E D  D C  D   EF  G   G   G  ab   a  F  E  F GD F ED  D

       2 η  τισ αν‿αγ‿γε‿λει             τα φρικ‿τα σου μυ‿στη‿ρι‿α
         EF ab  a  G  a  EFF              C  D     E   F  GD  F  ED D

α      3 εν‿αν‿θρω‿πη‿σασ γαρ δι’ η‿‿μασ etc.
          a  a   a   a   G    a  EF Ga aGa
```

Similar cases can be seen in Δεῦτε πάντεσ οἱ πιστοί (174v; Pent. p.150; Coislin notation) with MeSi πλ α before line 5 τὸν βαπτιστὴν τοῦ σωτῆροσ, Τὴν τετραπέρατον ἑορτήν (176r; Pent. p.159; Coislin notation) with πλ α before line 5 τὸν στα-διάρχην γάρ, Ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανοῖσ (176r; Pent. p.160; Coislin notation) with πλ α before line 5 τὸν γὰρ χιτῶνα, Δεῦτε προθύμωσ (214r; Oct II p.8; Chartres notation) with α before line 6 μὴ θελχθῶμεν, Δεῦτε ἅπαντεσ κυμβάλοισ (215r; Oct II p.29; Chartres notation) with ꙁꙁ (nana) before line 4 ἐν αὐτῇ γάρ.

In all these cases the MeSi is put at the beginning of the second main section of the Stikheron, the first section being usually a couplet of long-verses.

Another frequent type can be seen in the following examples, where it is the last main section (usually a couplet of long-verses) which is introduced by a MeSi:

Example 3 (Vatopedi 1488, 199v; Oct I, p.140; Chartres notation):

```
πλ δ   1 Χρι‿στον δο‿ξο‿λο‿γη‿σω‿μεν     2 τον α‿να‿σταν‿τα εκ νε‿κρων
          D   EF   G  G  G  a  Ga  a        EF  G  a  bc   a   G  G  G

       3 ψυ‿χην και σω‿μα γαρ α‿να‿λα‿βων
          d   d   a   b  a   G  G G ccb cdfed

       4 τω πα‿θει απ’ αλ‿λη‿λων δι‿ε‿‿τε‿με
          G  b   a   G  bc  d   G  a cb aG aba

       5 τησ α‿χραν‿του μεν ψυ‿χησ          6 εν α‿δου κατ‿ελ‿θου‿σησ
         EF G  c     b   a   bc  d            a  b  a   G   cb  ad  d

       7 ον και ε‿σκυ‿λευ‿σε
         d   G   a  cb  aG  G

β      8 τα‿φω δε δι‿α‿φθο‿ραν             9 ουκ ει‿δε το α‿‿γι‿ον σω‿μα
         G  G   G  G G  b   a              EF Ga  a  a  aF a  b   a  a

       10 του λυ‿τρω‿του      των ψυ‿χων η‿‿μων.
           a   a   aFGa        a  ca  cb  aG  G
```

Example 4 (Vatopedi 1488, 152r; Pent, p.77; Coislin notation):

```
πλ δ   1 Τισ λα‿λη‿σει τασ δυ‿να‿στει‿ασ σου χρι‿στε
         Ga  E  FE  D    D  Ea EF    G    a   a   a

       2 η  τισ εξ‿α‿ριθ‿μη‿‿‿σει των θαυ‿μα‿των σου τα πλη‿θη
         bc e   d  d  c   bcba  G   G   bc  d  bc   a  ba  G  G

       3 δι‿πλουσ γαρ ωσ ω‿ρα‿θησ ε‿πι γησ δι’ α‿γα‿θο‿‿τη‿τα
         bc   d    c  b  a ba  G  c  d  e   d  cb a  cdc b  b

       4 δι‿πλασ και τασ ι‿α‿‿‿σεισ τοισ νο‿σου‿σιν ε‿χο‿ρη‿γεισ
         c   e    d    d a bcba  G    G    a   d   bc a ba  G   G

       5 ου μο‿νον γαρ του σω‿μα‿τοσ οφ‿θαλ‿μουσ δι‿ην‿οι‿ξασ
         c  e   d   d    a  b  a  G  G  bc   d    bc  d  c  c

       6 του α‿πο μη‿τρασ πη‿ρω‿θεν‿‿τοσ     7 αλ‿λα και τουσ τησ ψυ‿χησ
         c   c  d   e    d  d  c  bcba G      G   a  bc   a   G  G  G

β      8 ο‿θεν θε‿ον σε ω‿μο‿λο‿γει τον κρυπ‿το‿με‿νον
         G G   a  bc a  c a  cb  a   bc   ec  dc  b  c

       9 και πα‿σι παρ‿ε‿χον‿τα το με‿γα ε‿‿λε‿οσ.
         c   e  d   c  b ab   c  G  a  cb cb aG G
```

Other cases of this type are
'Απόστολοι τοῦ σωτῆροσ (215v; Oct II p.33; Chartres notation) with MeSi zz (nenano) before line 15 αὐτοῦ τῇ προσκυνήσει,
'Αναλαμβανομένου σου(157v; Pent p. 98; Coislin notation) with β before line 13 αὐτὸσ δὲ ὡσ θεόσ,
Ψαλμοῖσ καὶ ὕμνοισ (199v; Oct I p. 141; Chartres notation) with zz (nenano) before line 5 καὶ ὡσ θεόσ.

Evidently, the MeSi in all these hymns are used in connection with a change of modality - and equally evidently these changes of modality are connected with the text-structure of the Stikhera. The change of modality is often clearly felt in the melody itself, since the new melodic paragraph will often begin with a formula which is characteristic of the new modality. Hence a medial signature will often be found before some characteristic formula of the mode to which the MeSi refers[15]. It is natural to suppose that the change of the modality is the basic musical expression of this structuralization of the text and that the MeSi (as sung medial intonation) is of a secondary order, preparing and supporting the new modality - in the same way as the intonation sung at the beginning of a hymn.

There are, however, cases that suggest that the Stikheraric medial intonation had a structuralizing function in itself. For instance, in the already quoted 'Αναλαμβανομένου σου (Pent p.98) the structure of the text is brought out musically by a number of modal changes. The first section of the Stikheron (lines 1-4) is narrative; it is in the Deuteros mode. The angels' question Τίσ οὗτοσ (line 5) is in the Tetartos, as is also their second question καὶ ἵνα τί αὐτοῦ ἐρυθρὰ τὰ ἱμάτια (line 10); but for the answers (lines 6-9 and 11-12) the Deuteros is used. The concluding allocution to Christ is in the main mode of the Stikheron, the Deuteros. The textual and modal structure of the Stikheron is thus

Introduction:	Deuteros	1-4 (1+2, 3+4)
First dialogue:	Tetartos	5
	Deuteros	6-9 (6, 7+8, 9)
Second dialogue:	Tetartos	10
	Deuteros	11-12
Conclusion:	Deuteros	13-17 (13+14, 15, 16+17)

Now, if medial signatures were only meant as a preparation for changes of modality, we should expect MeSi δ before lines 5 and 10 and β before lines 6 and 11 - but no β, probably, before line 13. And if the β which is actually found in Vatopedi 1488 before line 13 was called forth by the typical Deuteros formula b a G a b that follows, it would be at least equally appropriate before the similar formulas in lines 3, 7, 8, 9, and 11. Consequently, we are

15. Cf. also below, pp.101-102.

here in a position to show that the textual structure determined the placing of the medial intonation.

An unusual set of Theotokia for the Orthros Doxa - one for each of the modes in the Oktoekhos and also a few for some major feasts[16] - seem to point in the opposite direction. Most of these Theotokia end with the refrain of the Christmas Stikheron Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται, of which not only the text but also the melody is quoted. The refrain is in the Deuteros mode (the mode of the Christmas Stikheron). It is quite often introduced by a MeSi (156v, 181r, 186v, 189v, 193r - cf. also 201r), but curiously enough the pieces in the Deuteros and Plagios Deuteros (184r and 196r) are among those that have no MeSi. One gets the impression that there was no need in these modes to introduce the quotation by a Deuteros-signature. In other words, that the MeSi in the other hymns were put for modal reasons, not for reasons of textual structuralization.

✡

On the preceding pages I have, for methodological reasons, treated only clear examples. A good many cases where a MeSi does not fit into the context as transcribed by TILLYARD are probably due to melodical differences between the Round versions on which TILLYARD's transcriptions are based and the version of Vatopedi 1488. Comparison with a greater number of Round sources and a detailed analysis of the melodic formulas involved would probably clear up many of these cases - but this would take too much time and the presentation of the reasoning would take up too much space. For practical reasons, too, I have therefore had to confine myself to clear cases. Unfortunately, the few examples of Stikhera which in Vatopedi 1488 are provided with more than one MeSi are among those that are not altogether clear[17].

✡

Even in Stikheraria provided with the most primitive of all Palæobyzantine musical notations - the 'Theta-notation', of which I have recently given a short description[18] - MeSi are used in a way that apparently does not differ from the habits of other Palæobyzantine Stikheraria. The 'Theta-notation' has not yet been sufficiently studied, and for the moment it seems best to abstain from too hasty conclusions about its origin and possible development. But even so, a few examples will show the similarity in the use of MeSi between Theta-MSS and MSS with other kinds of Palæobyzantine notation[19]:

16. 'Επὶ τὸ ὄροσ τῶν ἐλαίων (156v),
Τῆσ τελευταίασ ἑορτῆσ (165v),
Παρεστῶσα τῷ σταυρῷ (181r),
"Ωσπερ τῆσ παρθενίασ (184r),
Παρθενικὴν ὥσπερ μήτραν (186v),
Τί σου τὸ ξένον (189v),
Εἰ καὶ λήθωσ (193r),
'Επὶ ξύλου βλέπουσα (196r),
Τὸν ἐκ πατρὸσ ἑωσφόρον (198v),
Μὴ θρήνοισ (201r).
According to STRUNK similar pieces are found in Sinai 1243 and Lavra Γ 67.

17. The three Stikhera in question are:
173r "Οτε τὸ πνεῦμά σου (πλ δ; MMB Transcripta VII (Pent) p.129) with δ before line 3, β before ἐξίσταντο in line 4, and β before line 7;
177r Τῇ νῦν πανηγύρει (πλ α; ibid.,p.155), with α before line 8 and πλ α before line 18;
194r Ρεύσεωσ ἡμᾶσ (πλ β; MMB Transcripta III (Oct I), p.133) with zz before line 4, β before line 16, and zz before line 20.

18. Classica et Mediaevalia 23, 1962, pp.302-310.

19. Other examples can be studied in Examples 3-5 of the article quoted in note 18.

Example 5 Τῶν μοναστῶν τὰ πλήθη (January 17. From Vatican Gr. 2008, 181v; the transcription under the lines of text is from D, fol. 118v):

Τῶν μο-να-στῶν τὰ πλή-θη· τὸν καθ-η-γη-τήν σε τι-μῶ-μεν ἀν-τώ-νι-ε.
c ba d bccb a ba G G ab G a bc a d d G a cb aG G

δι-α γαρ σοῦ τὴν τρί-βον· τὴν ὄν-τωσ εὐ-θεί-αν· πο-ρεύ-ε-σθαι ἔ--γνω-
c c d bccb a ba G G ab G a bc a d d G a cb aG

μα-κά-ρι-οσ εἶ τῷ χρι-στῷ δου-λεύ-σασ· καὶ ἐχ-θροῦ θρι-αμ-βεύ-σασ τὴν
b ba G ca b G a bcb a c c b c e d bc d G a

ἀγ-γε---λων συν-ο-μι-λε· τοῦ παύ--λου συμ-μέτ-ο-χε τοῦ θη-βαί-ου·
c bccb a ca b a G c bccb a ca b a G bc ba G G

μεθ ὧν πρέσ-βευ-ε τῷ κυ-ρί--------ω· ἐ-λε-η-θῆ-ναι τὰσ ψυ-χὰσ ἡ--μῶν.
G aE F E D G G abcbGa <G> c c cd cb a b db cb aG G

Example 6 Ὅσιε πάτερ οὐκ ἔδωκασ (January 20; Vatic. Gr. 2008, 182r)[20]:

Ὅσιε πε͞ρ· οὐκ ἔδωκασ ὕπνον σοῖσ ὀφθαλμοῖσ·
οὐδὲ τοῖσ βλεφάροισ σου νυσταγμὸν·
ἕωσ οὗ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα· τῶν παθῶν ἠλευθέρωσασ·
καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡτοίμασασ· τοῦ πν͞σ καταγώγιον·
ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ χριστὸσ σὺν τῷ πρ͞ι· μονὴν παρα σοὶ ἐποιήσατο·
καὶ τῆσ ὁμοουσίου τριάδοσ· θεράπων γενόμενοσ·
μεγαλοκήρυξ εὔθύμιε·
πρέσβευε· ὕπερ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν

✫

In Round notation Stikheraria medial intonations are often used to underline the verse structure, MeSi being put before each long-verse or even, in some MSS, before the short verses (hemistichs)[21]. Such cases are extremely rare in Palæobyzantine Stikheraria. In fact, the following example - from the Grottaferrata MS E.α.XI, Coislin notation - is the only case I know of in which MeSi are put at short-verse distance. Unfortunately, E.α.XI is difficult to read here and I cannot guarantee that my rendering of the tail-neumes of its signatures is absolutely correct. For my present purpose, however, this lack of exact information seems to be outweighed by the interest of the technique, so unusual in a Palæobyzantine Stikherarion. It should be noticed, too, that these MeSi do not conform to the ordinary Palæobyzantine practice since they are differentiated[22].

20. Professor KENNETH LEVY has kindly provided me with an exact copy of this Stikheron from Vatic. gr. 2008.

21. Cf. Examples 35-36, below, pp.137-139. As I have shown above, pp.60-63, this 'rule' is not observed if the preceeding verse ends in a 'leading-on' cadence.

Example 6a (Sinai 1227, 155r; Sinai 1218, 156r; E.α.XI, 30v):

E.α.XI Sinai 1218 Sinai 1227

Ταισ εξ ερ---γων καυ-χη-σε-σι·
EF a Gbc d a b a G

φα-ρι-σαι-ον δι-και-ουν-τα·
G bc d a bc d c bccb

ε-αυ-τον
a cb cdbc dbcba cba

κατ-ε-κρι-νασ κυ---ρι--ε·
d d G a bcc Gab b

και τε-λω-νην
bc a b a G

με-τρι-ω πα-θη-σαν-τα·
G bc d bc d c c

και στε-ναγ-μοισ
c a a F G

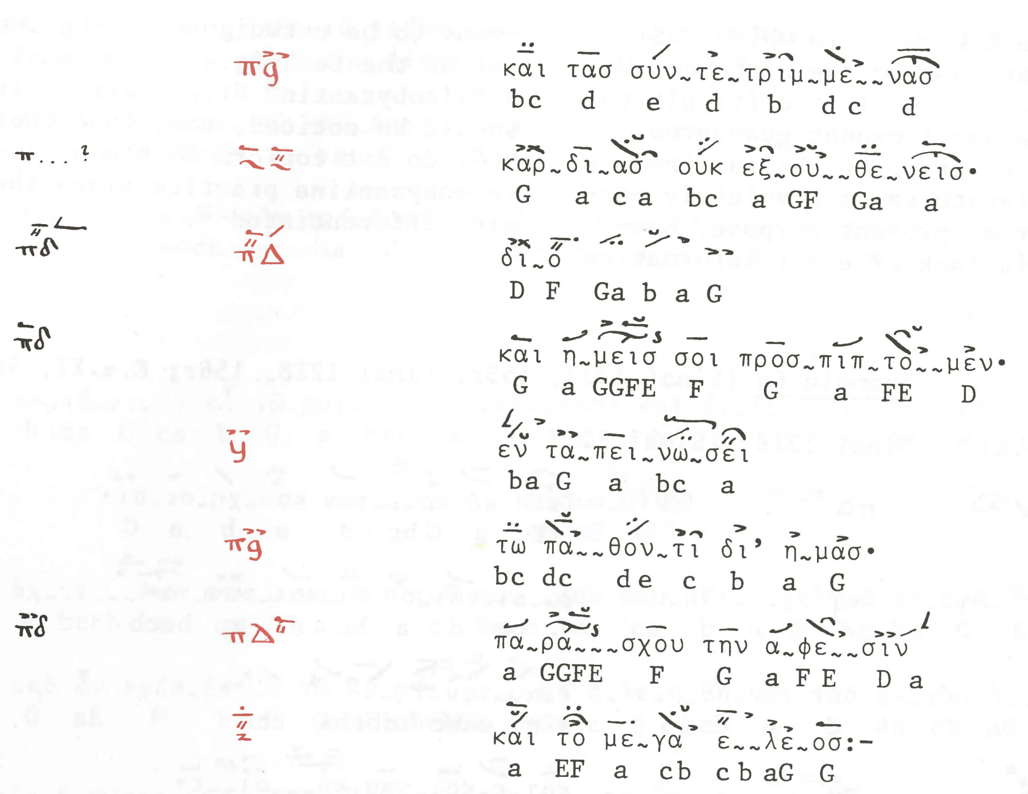
ι--λασ-μον αι-του-με-νον
GF E F G a FE D

ε--δι--και--ω--σασ·
a cb c b aG G

ου γαρ προ-ι-ε-σαι
d d a b a G

τουσ με-γα-λο-φρο-νασ λο-γισ-μουσ·
G G a b c b a bcG a

22. Cf. above, p.89. The melody in Example 6a is taken from Sinai 1227.



Notes to Example 6a: In details the melodies of Sinai 1218 and Sinai 1227 do not agree completely. I have not found it necessary to reproduce the melody of E.α.XI (Coislin notation, and besides difficult to read); at present the confrontation of its MeSi with the version of Sinai 1227 will suffice.

The first MeSi in E.α.XI may be πδ.

☆

Even the earliest dated specimens of Round notation Stikheraria - such as Sinai 1218 (A. D. 1177) and E.α.IX (A. D. 1180) - are amply provided with MeSi. There is thus a marked difference between the Round and the Palæobyzantine traditions. To be sure, we do not know whether this difference is due to a change in performance technique or whether it is another result of the tendency towards more and more explicitness in the written tradition[23]. The possibility cannot be excluded that medial intonations were sung more frequently than indicated by the MeSi of the old Stikheraria[24]. We must therefore conclude this part of the investigation by saying that in the oldest period of the written tradition the Stikheraric medial intonations - as reflected by MeSi in Palæobyzantine MSS - were used to prepare and support modal changes within a melody - and since these modal changes were usually dependent on the text structure, the MeSi would usually be put at textual 'turning-points'. As for the relatively few cases of the type exemplified in Ἀναλαμβανομένου σου (above, pp.92-93), I take these to indicate a shift of interest from the melodic to the textual aspect of such turning-points. This new understanding of the context would naturally lead to attributing to medial intonations a structuralizing function in themselves, and would make it possible to use medial intonations also at places where the modality does not change.

23. Cf. above, p.85.

24. Cf. below, pp.106-107 and 129.

Quite exceptionally a Stikheron is provided with many MeSi in a way which prefigures the usages of Stikheraria in Round notation.

☆

Medial Signatures in the old Heirmologia[25].

In the old Heirmologia, too, the MeSi are used where there is a modulation from one mode to another[26]. It is therefore the simplicity of the modal structure in the Heirmological style which explains why the number of MeSi to be found in these MSS is so limited. In S the total number of MeSi is about 10, in P less than 25 have been counted[27], H contains about 65, and L about 160. As for O, I have not found it necessary to inspect the whole MS; in the Plagios Protos section MeSi are prescribed 17 times in O, the corresponding figures for H and L being 11 and 12.

In the following table I have listed all MeSi in Plagios Protos Heirmoi from the manuscripts L, P, O, and H[28]:

25. The following MSS have been used in this paragraph:
L: Lavra B 32 (Chartres notation, 10th cent.);
S: Saba 83 (Primitive Coislin notation, late 11th cent.?);
P: Patmos 55 (Primitive Coislin notation, 10th cent.);
O: Coislin 220 (Coislin notation, early 12th cent.);
H: Iviron 470 (Round notation, late 12th cent., MMB II).

26. Cf. HØEG in MMB Transcripta VI (Hirm I), Introduction, p.XLIV.

27. As I have only had access to rather bad photographs, their number may be a little higher, though not much.

28. The incipits are arranged alphabetically. The transcriptions under the lines of text are made from MMB Transcripta VI. In two cases L has Heirmoi that are not found in H; for these the original notation is reproduced.

MeSi in Plagios Protos Heirmoi

			L	P	O	H	MMB VI
Ἀγγέλων σύστημα	α	τον βα-σι-λε-α a bc G aG F			133v		183
Ἀνάγαγέ με ὁ θεόσ	α	ο τον προ-φη-την ι-ω-ναν a G a bc a a G aG	172v	120v		91r	192
Ἀνάτειλον Χριστέ	α	το φωσ τησ γνω-σε-ωσ σου EF a G G F E D			129v		173
Ἄτριπτον ὁδόν	α	δι-α-πορθ-μευ-σασ δε a G a bc a a				94r	208
Ἔγνωμεν ἔγνωμεν	β	ο-τι συ η-μων θε-οσ C D G F E D D	166r				193
	α	ο τον λα-ον του ισ-ρα-ηλ a G a bc a a G aG	166r	132r	137v	91r	193
Εἰσ βάθη ἀπέρριμμαι	α	προ-φθα-σασ δι-α--σω-σον EF a G a bc a GF				89v	186
Ἐξέλειπεν ἐξ Ἰούδα	α	εκ γαρ τησ ρι-ζησ ι--εσ-σαι a a a a G EF G a	159v	111r	128v		169
	πλ α	σω-τηρ ε--βλα-στη-σασ a a GF G FE D		111r			169
Ἐξ ὄρουσ ἄνευ χειρόσ	α	λι-θοσ ε--τμη-θησ χρι-στε a G EF a G G F			127v		167
Ἐξ ὕψουσ οὐρανῶν	α	προσ-ε-χε τη η-μων a G G F G FE				96v	219
Ἡ ἐξ Ἐδέμ	α	φυ-σισ η--μων a G EF G			142r		207
Θρηνείτω ἡ Αἴγυπτοσ	α	α-γαλ-λί-ασ-θῶ δέ	189v				-
Ἴδετε ἴδετε	α	ο δι-α σπλαγχ-να οικ-τιρ-μων a a a a G EF Ga a	165v		136v		191
Κήτουσ γαστέρα	α	ο ι--ω-νασ C EF G aG	157v				162
Λαβρότατον πῦρ	α	κατ-ε-δου-λω-σαν-το C E F G a a	169v				206
Λόγε θεοῦ	α	ει-ρη-νευ-σον και φω-τι-σον G G D G E F E D		123v=127v			205
Μεγαλύνομέν σε	α	συ γαρ συν-ε--λα-βεσ a G a bc b a			132v		180
Ναὸν εἰσ ἅγιόν σου	α	τον επ-ου-ρα-νι-ον a G EF G a a	169v=182r	123v=127v	141v	94r	206
Ναὸν ὑψίστου	α	την α-να-τει-λα-σαν η--μιν a G a bc a a Ga a	169r		141r	93v	203
Ὁ ἐν μορφῇ	βαρ	μορ-φην δου-λου ε-λα-βεν C F G b♭G a GF F			137v		194
Οὐρανοῦσ δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν	α	κλι-νασ ωσ οι-δασ a G a bc a			145r	96r	215
Πατρώοισ νομίμοισ	α	ε--ψαλ-λον τρεισ παι-δεσ bc a a G GF E				91v	195
Σαλευομένην	α	στε-ρε-ω--σον a bc aG aG			133r		181
Συνάναρχε	α	ωσ τον προ-φη--την ι-ω--ναν[29] F E F ab♭ a a Ga a		118r	137v		195
Τὴν ἄφατόν μου	α	εν-ἀν-θρω-πή-σἀι γάρ	179v				-
Τοὺσ ἐκ νυκτόσ	α	ε-λε-η-σον και ει-ρη-νην δω-ρη-σαι a bc G aG EF Ga a G F E D			128v		170
Ὡσ ἐκ τῆσ Σιών	α	ψυχ-α-γω-γου-με-νοι a G a bc G aG		134v	143v		210
Ὡσ στηριγμόσ	α	χρι---στε acba GGacba				94v	208
Ὡσ τῇ χρυσῇ εἰκόνι	α	μη προσ-κυ-νη-σαν-τεσ a G a bc G a	168v	122r	140v	93r	202
		total	12	9	17	11	30

29. Cf. below, pp.100-101.

In principle, these MeSi are obviously used in the same way as the MeSi of the Stikheraria[30]. It is interesting, however, to see how the stylistic difference between Stikhera and Heirmoi is also reflected in the changes of modality.

It has been shown (above, p. 90) that in one of the favourite Stikheraric types the first section consisted of a couplet of long-verses and that the change of modality took place after these two lines. The corresponding Heirmos type can be seen from the following examples (Examples 7-8):

Example 7 (MMB Transcripta VI, 192; the MeSi is found in L, P, and H):

πλ α 1 Αν-α-γα-γε με ο θε-οσ· 2 εκ βυ-θου των πταισ-μα-των μου·
D C D E F E D DC E F Ga EF D EF D D

α 3 ο τον προ-φη-την etc.
a G a bc a

The first section of this Heirmos consists of one long-verse only, not of a couplet of long-verses as was the case in the Stikhera. Other examples of the same type are[31]: Ἔγνωμεν (193), Ἐξέλειπεν (169), Ἴδετε (191), Οὐρανοῦσ (215), Πατρῴοισ νομίμοισ (195), Σαλευομένην (181), Συνάναρχε (195), Ὡσ ἐκ τῆσ Σιών (210).

Example 8 (MMB Transcripta VI, 202; the MeSi is found in all four MSS):

πλ α 1 Ωσ τη χρυ-ση ει-κο-νι· α μη προσ-κυ-νη-σαν-τεσ·
D C D G FE D D a G a bc G a

2 οι α-βρα-μι-αι-οι παι-δεσ etc.
G G G G G FE D D

Here the new modality is introduced already after the first short-verse. Similar cases are: Ἀνάτειλον (173), Ἐξ ὄρουσ (167), Ἐξ ὕψουσ (219), Ἡ ἐξ Ἐδέμ (207), Κήτουσ γαστέρα (162), Λαβρότατον πῦρ (206), Ναὸν εἰσ ἅγιόν σου (206)[32].

Among the cases that do not conform to the types shown in Examples 7 and 8, one ought to be able to find parallels to Examples 3 and 4 - with MeSi near the end, before the last main section. However, clear cases of this type are not found in the Plagios Protos material because of the limited length of most Heirmoi[33]. The following two examples (both of them from H) come quite close to this type:

30. Cf. above, pp.96-97.

31. The following page references are to MMB Transcripta VI.

32. In the Stikherarion there are exact parallels to this technique, mostly in Plagios Protos hymns that begin with the words Ὅσιε πάτερ or Κύριε.

33. Cf., however, below, pp.126-127 and 128, note 101.

Example 9 (MMB Transcripta VI, 208; the MeSi only in H):

πλ α 1 Α‿τριπ‿τον ο‿δον πε‿ζευ‿σασ ισ‿ρα‿ηλ·
G F E D D C FGa a G F F

2 Βρα‿χι‿ο‿νι θε‿ου υ‿ψη‿λω·
F ED C D ED FE D D D

3 Γε‿νοσ το αι‿γυπ‿τι‿ον· 4 ε‿ω‿ρα βυ‿θι‿ζο‿με‿νον·
D C EF a Gab a G GF E F G EF D D

α 5 Δι‿α‿πορθ‿μευ‿σασ δε υ‿γραν ε‿κραυ‿γα‿ζεν·
a G a bc a a G a E F E DEF

6 Ο δε‿δο‿ξασ‿με‿‿νοσ θε‿οσ η‿μων δε‿δο‿ξασ‿ται:-
E D C FE DEF E G F E F G EF D D

Example 10 (MMB Transcripta VI, 186; the MeSi only in H):

πλ α 1 Εισ βα‿θη απ‿ερ‿ριμ‿μαι θα‿λασ‿σησ·
D CD D G G F E D CD D

2 εκ των α‿ναγ‿κων μου ρυ‿σαι με·
D C E F Ga FG a G F

3 και ωσ‿περ εκ του κη‿τουσ αν‿η‿γα‿γεσ
G a G GFE F G F G a GF G

τον προ‿φη‿την ι‿ω‿‿ναν·
G G G FE D EF G

4 ου‿τωσ κα‿με δε‿ο‿μαι·
F F G aGF Ga E D

α 5 προ‿φθα‿σασ δι‿α‿‿σω‿σον·
EF a G a bc a GF

6 εκ των του βι‿‿ου κα‿κων:-
E F G EFE D D D

From the table on p. 98 it is easy to see that the connection between MeSi and the following formula is as close as in the Stikhera[34].

Here it should be mentioned that the MeSi α which in the Heirmos Συνάναρχε (MMB Transcripta VI, 195) is put by P and O before the phrase ὡσ τὸν προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν and which does not go with the melody of H, suggests that these MSS used a different melodic

34. Cf. above, p.92.

formula - namely the favourite a G a bc a....[35].

The connection between MeSi and the following formula need not be demonstrated from all modes. It will be enough to put forward a few cases of special interest:

(1) The MeSi πλ β is frequently put before the formula , one of the most characteristic opening patterns of Plagios Deuteros (= EF D G). The formula is also used medially, both in its lower pitch (from E) and a fifth higher (from b)[36]. Sometimes, especially in Protos and Tritos Heirmoi, the same group of neumes is to be found a fourth above the low pitch (that is, from a) - and the MS L in these cases often has the MeSi πβ before the formula, thus showing that the a was felt as an E, in which case b-flat should be used in our transcription (EF D G = $ab_{\flat}$G c)[37].

In the Heirmos Νεουργέ (MMB Transcripta VI, p.74) we have one of these cases, with MeSi in L before line 5 (L, fol.22v). Other clear cases in L are the Tritos Heirmoi Μεγέθει βραχίονι (fol.83v, before ὃν ἐκτίσω; cf. H fol.47r and E.γ.II fol. 323r) and Μετ' ἀγγέλων (fol.103r, before ἰδοῦ γάρ; cf. H fol.57v and E.γ.II fol.79v).

The use of πβ on a is not limited to this situation; cf. Plates VII and LIII in VELIMIROVIC's comparative charts (MMB Subsidia IV, Pars Suppletoria) with examples from Coislin 220 (O) and E.γ.III (Ga).

(2) Formulas like (from e, b, or a) are often introduced by the MeSi β, especially in the MS L (about 40 times). At times the formula occurs at the beginning of a verse (see Example 11); but since the formula is normally used as a medial cadence, the MeSi will often be found within a verse (see Examples 12-14)[38]:

Example 11 (L, 137v; transcription from G, 121v):

δ Σε ζω‿γρα‿φου‿σα· η ασ‿συ‿‿ρι‿οσ φλοξ·
ef e d cd d ef g effe d fd e

β νε‿ουσ τρεισ· δι‿ε‿σω‿σεν κυ‿ρι‿‿ε· etc.
e fdec degfe e e d c dc bcd d

35. Cf. the Heirmos Ἀνάγαγε (MMB Transcripta VI, p.192) where H has the a G a-formula on the words ὁ τὸν προφήτην Ἰωνᾶν, whereas the F E F-formula is used by E.γ.II (MMB III, 146v). Related musical formulas used for phrases of this kind occur elsewhere in ς-Heirmoi, see Transcripta VI, pp.79, 90, 99, 114, 170, 180, 182, 217.

36. The Deuteros Heirmos Οὐρανὸν ἐκτείνασ (H, fol.34v) has the formula in both pitches, the high pitch being introduced by a MeSi πβ. Incidentally, this is the only Plagios Deuteros MeSi in H.

37. Cf. above, pp.10 and 46. These cases resemble THODBERG's so-called 'fourth-displacement' (see THODBERG, The tonal system of the Kontakarium, p.8, note 9).

38. Stikheraric examples of both types can be seen in the Pentekostarion (MMB Transcripta VII), Hymn 67, lines 6 and 10, and Hymn 68, line 21. In one of these cases (67,10) there is a MeSi β in Vatopedi 1488,fol.158v. Cf. also MMB Transcripta III (Oct I), p.130 (Theotokion of Plagios Protos) where Vatop. 1488, 191r has β before καὶ θρόνοσ.

Example 12 (L, 141v; transcription from G, 122r):

δ Εν σοι θεοτοκε· το ημετερον ηττημα πεπαυται·

τον γαρ αορατον λογον· εν μητρα σου δεξαμενη·

διπλουν αυτον τετοκασ· θεον ομου και ανθρωπον·

ον τα χε‿ρου‿βιμ· α‿τε‿νι‿σαι ου τολ‿‿μα· etc.
d c b cd d d d e e e fdec degfe

Example 13 (L, 300r):

πλ δ Μετα φωνησ αινεσεωσ· δεξαι με βοωντα σοι χριστε·

ὢσ ἐκ τοὺ κη‿τοὺσ· ι‿ω‿ναν· ελυτρωσω ασινη·

ουτω καμε αναγαγε· εκ βυθου πταισματων μου·

ο θεοσ ωσ οικτιρμων και πολυελεοσ:-[39]

Example 14 (L, 115v; transcription from G, 90v):

δ Εξεστη τα συμπαντα· επι τη θεια μνημη σου·

συ γαρ απειρογαμε παρθενε·

γηθεν μετεστησ· ωσπερ ζωησ κιβωτοσ·

πρὸσ την επ‿ου‿ρα‿νι‿ὸν ζω‿‿‿‿ην· etc.
a d e f g f e efdec cdgfe

Medial Signatures and Intonations in Palæobyzantine MSS of Melismatic Chant.

At present, the use of medial signatures and intonations in melismatic chant can only be unsatisfactorily described, especially as far as the Palæobyzantine period is concerned. This is not only due to a deplorable lack of early source material, but also to the fact that only certain branches of the material from the later periods have been studied extensively.

Specimens of the two most important collections - the Psaltikon (soloist's book) and the Asmatikon (choir's book) - are accessible in facsimile editions: MMB IV (Byzantine Psaltikon in Round notation) and MMB VI (Slavonic Asmatikon in Kontakarian notation). Some sections of the two rẽpertoires contain the same texts (in different musical settings), e.g. Kontakia, Hypakoai, and Prokeimena[40]. For the Round period, THODBERG's studies on the Psaltikon style, both Kontakia and Alleluia-verses[41], include ample material for studying the use of medial signatures and intonations in these genres.

39. Cf. Saba 83,213v: ὢσ ἐκ τοὺ κητοὺσ ιωναν.

For these and other reasons - including my own inability to read the Church Slavonic and Russian languages - the suggestions put forward in the present paragraph must not be taken as definite results. They are only intended to point out the existence of problems that still need to be solved, by more expert and competent scholars.

Despite the sporadic character of the evidence known to me, it is easy to show the stability of the tradition, at least for some kinds of melismatic chant. For one thing, the peculiar singing of Antiphons at the Vespers of Pentecost (in the Office of the Gonyklisia) is known from Palæobyzantine (Γ.β.XXXV) as well as from Round sources (e.g. Ashburnham 64, foll. 258r sqq.). Since Ashburnham 64 is reproduced in facsimile (MMB IV) and plates from Γ.β.XXXV are given by TARDO and STRUNK, the two sources can easily be compared[42]. There are differences in the two settings, but in principle the two versions agree in prescribing intonations before the refrains of the psalms:

In Psalm 18 (Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται), the first two Ἀλληλούια are introduced by αναα:αααγια and ανανα-για in Γ.β.XXXV (TARDO's plate) and by ααα∾ααα αααααaγιιααα and α∾∾ααα-για in Ashburnham 64 (260v-261r).

In Psalm 85 (Κλῖνον κύριε), the first two Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεόσ have MeSi Ƶ in Γ.β.XXXV (STRUNK's plate); in Ashburnham 64, 258r-258v, they are introduced by λεεγε λεεγετε[43].

The two intonations which I quoted from the refrain to Psalm 18 are of special interest, in so far as they are also found in at least one of the Slavonic Kondakars, the Blagoveschensky Kondakar[44]. A comparison between these three sources (Examples 15 and 16) reveals an unquestionable similarity both in the intonation syllables (ANAGIA versus ANANAGIA) and in the intonation melodies, and thus shows the stability of the Byzantine tradition - of which the oldest stage, the model for the Slavonic tradition, has not yet been discovered.

40. Cf. BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO's recent articles in the Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata (Gli Asmata nella musica bizantina, 1959 sq.; L'Essenza della musica nelle liturgie orientali, 1961; Asmatikòn, 1962) and KENNETH LEVY's review of MMB VI (The Musical Quarterly 47, 1961, pp.554 sqq.).

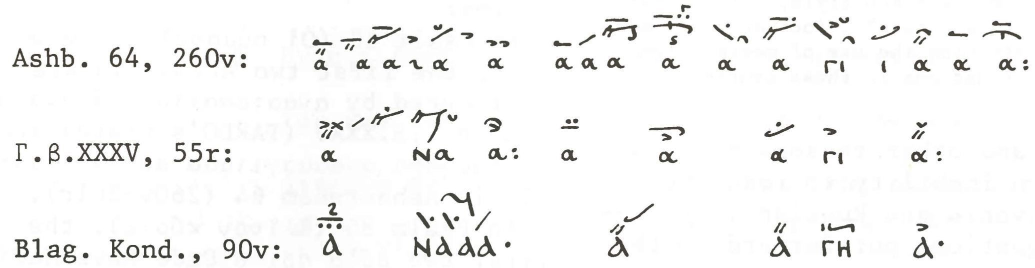
41. See above, p.4, note 25.

42. Folios 52v-53r are reproduced on plate 11 in STRUNK's The Byzantine office at Hagia Sophia; fol.55r on tavola XVI in TARDO's L'Antica melurgia bizantina.

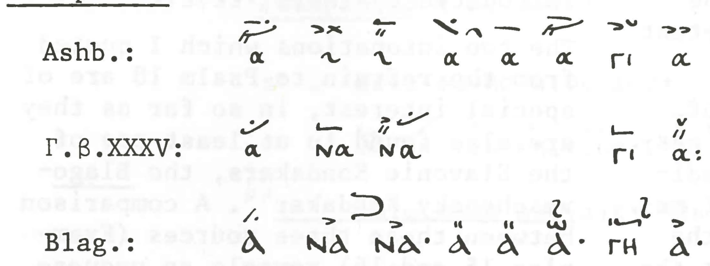
43. I have already on an earlier occasion (above, p.79) mentioned that the long Plagios Deuteros intonation which is sung by the Domestikos before the preamble to Psalm 85 (STRUNK's plate 11 + Ashburnham 64, 258r) is described in a 13th cent. Typikon.

44. Leningr. Gosud. Publ. Bibl. No. Q.n.I.32. Reproduced in M.V.BRAZNIKOV, Blagoveščenskij Kondakar', Fotovosproizvedenije rukopisi. Leningrad, 1955. Cf. Tafel LXXXVIII in Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses (München 1958), München 1960. On Tafeln LXXXVII-XC there are further reproductions from the same MS, to accompany the article by N. D. USPENSKIJ (pp.643-654).

Example 15:



Example 16:



It seems, then, that the Blagoveschensky Kondakar can tell us something about the singing of medial intonations in the Palæobyzantine Asmatikon, for which Greek sources are lacking.

Guided by BUGGE's description of the manuscript[45] I have worked through the whole MS, with the following result: Medial intonations are only indicated for the following pieces:

90v - 91v: **начатъкъ ıазыкъ**
(Τὴν ἀπαρχήν; Hypakoe for Dec.25th)
91v - 92v: **сопль пастырьскыхъ**
(Αὐλῶν ποιμενικῶν; do.)
93v - 94v: **повелѣно что тайно**
(Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς; cf. BUGGE's introduction to MMB VI, footnote 34, p.XXII and USPENSKIJ's Tafel LXXXVIII to which I referred above, note 44)
107r-113v: The Polyeleos (Psalm 134)
113v-114r: **христосъ въскрьсе**
(Χριστὸς ἀνέστη).

Main intonations are frequently prescribed in the collection of Koinonika (folios 95r-103v) and also in some other cases. It should be noted that on folios 1-90r (the main contents of which are the Kontakia) there are neither MInt nor MeInt.

For our present purpose the two Hypakoai on folios 90v-92v are most welcome, since they can be compared with the corresponding Greek pieces, which I have had access to in a microfilm of the Asmatikon Γ.γ.I (13th century)[46].

45. MMB VI, Introduction, pp.XVII-XVIII.

46. Described by BARTOLOMEO DI SALVO in Bollettino 16, 1962, pp.139 sqq.

Example 17 (Γ.γ.I, 19v; Blag. Kond. 90v)[47]:

Intonations and	text of Γ.γ.I:	Intonations of Blag. Kond.:
νεαγιε	Τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν	неагıе агıа
αναγια	οὐρανὸς σοι προσεκόμισεν	анагıа
ανανανια	τῷ κειμένῳ	ананагıа
αναγια	νηπίῳ	анагıа
νανα	ἐν φάτνῃ	
ανανανια	δι' ἀστέρος	ананагıа
αναγια	τοὺς μάγους	анагıа
νανα	καλέσας·	
	οὓς καὶ κατέπληττεν	
αναγια	οὐ σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνοι	анагıа
αναγια	ἀλλ' ἐσχάτη πτωχεία	анагıа
νανα	τί γὰρ εὐτελέστερον σπηλαίου	нана
νανα	τί δὲ ταπεινότερον σπαργάνων	нанагıа
νεανες	ἐν οἷς	ананагıа
αναγια	ἔλαμψεν ὁ τῆς θεότητος πλοῦτός σου	анагıа
νανα	κύριε δόξα σοι.	нана

Example 18 (Γ.γ.I, 17v; Blag. Kond. 91v):

Intonations and	text of Γ.γ.I:	Intonations of Blag. Kond.:
ανανανια	Αὐλῶν ποιμενικῶν	неагıе ананагıа
αναγια	καταπαῦον ᾆσμα	анагıа
ανανανια	στρατὸς ἀγγελικὸς	ананагна
αναγια	ἐπεφάνη λέγων	анагна
αναγια	αἶνον ἄσατε τὸ θεῖον	анагıа
αναγια	οἱ τῶν θρεμμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντες	анагıа
αναγια	κράξατε ἀνυμνοῦντες	анагıа
αναγια	ὅτι ἐτέχθη χριστὸς ὁ κύριος	анагıа
αναγια	ὁ εὐδοκήσας σῶσαι ὡς θεός	анагıа
αναγια	τὸ γέ-	
νανα	-νος τῶν ἀνθρώπων.	

47. In order to simplify the presentation, I normalize the spelling of the intonation syllables and drop the vowel repetition.

The two examples speak for themselves; they obviously imply a common ancestor for the Slavonic and South Italian traditions.

In the Polyeleos (Blag. Kond. 107r-113v) the medial intonations are usually found before the refrain **ІАКО ВЪ ВѢКЪІ МИЛОСТЬ ЄГО АЛЄЛОУГІА** (ὅτι εἰσ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεοσ αὐτοῦ). At times the words of the refrain are further split up into short sections, in which case the directives **НПЄ** and **ПАЛ** are used[48].

☆

The Blagoveschensky Kondakar seems to be the only Slavonic Kondakar that contains a considerable number of medial intonations. This difference between Blag. and the other Slavonic Kondakars needs some comment.

For the Typografsky Ustav (cf. plates XIa and XIb in MMB Subsidia III) and the Lavrsky Kondakar I have used the notes which ARNE BUGGE took during his stay in Moscow in 1958.

According to BUGGE, there is one MInt in Typografsky Ustav, fol.120v (**АНЄАНѢЄ** , to **ВИДАЩИ ТА ТВАРЬ ВЬСА ВЪ ВИДЛѢОМѢ** [‘Ορῶσά σε ἡ κτἴσισ ἅπασα ἐν Βηθλεέμ], a Stikheron Proshomoion for Christmas).

Lavrsky Kondakar, fol.111r and Synodalny Kondakar, fol.101v agree in giving a MeInt in the Christmas Troparion **ВЪСИЯ ХРИСТЄ ОТЪ ДѢВЪІИ МЪІСЛЬНОЄ НЄНАНЄ СЪЛНЬЧЄ** (’Ανέτειλασ Χριστέ).

The Uspensky Kondakar (MMB VI) has some MInt, e.g. on folios 183v-190v, and also some signs which may be MeSi, but no parallels to the MeInt of Blag. Kond. - Cf. MMB VI, Introduction, pp.XXII-XXIII; the system of these 'medial signatures' is still unexplained.

It seems to be out of the question that the MeInt of Blag. Kond. should be explained as a special invention made in the locality where the MS was written; the correspondences between Blag. and the much later South Italian tradition, exemplified in Examples 17 and 18, speak clearly enough against this idea. Thus, the real problem seems to be not the presence of MeInt in Blag. Kond., but the silence of the other MSS. Now it would seem that an explanation based on a hypothetical simplicity of performance is forbidden by the very nature of the Asmatic genre, since this in all likelihood was meant for a festive choral performance[49]. We are thus left to infer that it was unnecessary to insert written MeInt because they could be supplied in the actual singing from a stable practice of performance guided by strict rules[50].

If that be the case, we still have to explain why the Blagoveschensky Kondakar - without any real necessity, as it seems - provided these Christmas Hypakoai (and a few other pieces) with MeInt. Since we do not know anything about the "stable practice of performance" and its "strict rules", we cannot be sure whether the singing of medial intonations was reserved for special

48. Cf. USPENSKIJ in Akten des XI. Int. Byz. Kongr., p.647 and Tafel LXXXVII. The example shown on this table is the only one where the **НПЄ** is used as introduction to the refrain. For Byzantine directory remarks, see above, pp.66 sqq.

49. For the Uspensky Kondakar this general consideration finds support in BUGGE's convincing hypothesis about the original use of the MS "for the divine services at the Cathedral in this new and ambitious centre of Russia" (i.e. Vladimir, see MMB VI, Introduction p.XXVII).

50. Cf. above, p.96.

high feasts[51]. We are therefore not in a position to decide if the MeInt prescribed by Blag. for such solemn occasions were the only ones to be sung. It may even be that the MeInt for these Christmas Hypakoai were put in by a scribe who wished to give special brilliancy to his written pages; since, in other respects, the Blagoveschensky Kondakar is a real de luxe copy, the MeInt could be explained calligraphically[52].

A more detailed investigation of the Slavonic Asmatic Kondakars and a subsequent comparison with the data furnished by the Greek (South Italian) Asmatika will undoubtedly be worth the trouble. For my own part, I do not find myself competent to go further than the suggestions ventured on the preceding pages.

☆

Concerning the other large body of melismatic chant, the Psaltikon répertoire, our situation is even more difficult - as far as the Palæobyzantine period goes. To my knowledge no substantial sources for the Palæobyzantine tradition of Psaltic chant have been preserved on Greek soil, and the Slavonic material is completely lacking.

The only possible way of getting some idea about the rôle of medial intonations in the older Psaltikon tradition would seem to be a comparison between Asmatika and Psaltika of a later period, after the 12th century, in so far as a study of these later representatives of the two répertoires might yield some results that would be valid also for the earlier period.

I can think of no better material for a comparison than the small collection of oktoekhic Hypakoai, since these eight pieces are accessible in no less than three versions: The Asmatic, the short Psaltic, and the long Psaltic[53]. My first example, Example 19, is the Deuteros Hypakoe[54].

The cadence  (from d, a, or E) divides the short Psaltic version into 15 short-lines; these, in turn, are melodically joined together to form five larger sections which are textually to be compared to Stikheraric long-verses. In order to make the comparison easier, I print the long Psaltic and the Asmatic versions in the same pattern.

51. The occurrence of MeInt in the Easter Troparion in Blag.,fol.113v and in a Stikheron and a Troparion for Christmas in other MSS (cf. above, p.106) undeniably points in that direction. We should then have to consider the old singing of Hypakoai and other pieces of asmatic chant as an early parallel to (or: model for?) the festive singing of certain Stikhera that appears in Greek MSS (cf. above, p.66).

52. Cf. MMB VI, Introduction, p.XVII: "a very distinct style (one is tempted to say "personal" or even "affected" style) when compared with the other Kontakaria". Cf. also below, pp.146-147, on parallels from Coislin 41.

53. About the two forms of the Psaltikon répertoire, see CONSTANTINE FLOROS, Das Kontakion (Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 34, 1960, pp.84-106) and THODBERG's thesis, passim.

54. Described and partially transcribed in THODBERG, The tonal system of the Kontakarium, p.33 and pp.48-50 (Appendix 6). For Examples 19-20 I have used THODBERG's collations.

Example 19[54a]:

	Short Psaltic version (Vatic. gr. 345):	Long Psaltic version (Vatic. gr. 1606):	Asmatic version (Vatic. gr. 1606):
1	β Μετὰ τὸ πάθοσ	β Μετὰ τὸ πάθοσ·	β Μετὰ τὸ πάθοσ
	∿ πορευθεῖσαι	πορευθεῖσαι·	πορευθεῖσαι·
3	πλ α ἐν τῷ μνήματι	ἐν τῷ μνήματι·	πλ α ἐν τῷ μνήματι·
	β πρὸσ τὸ μυρίσαι	∿ πρὸσ τὸ μυρίσαι	β πρὸσ τὸ μυρίσαι·
5	δ τὸ σῶμά σου	δ τὸ σῶμά σου	α τὸ σῶμά σου
	∿ αἱ γυναῖκεσ	β αἱ γυναῖκεσ	αἱ γυναῖκεσ
7	πλ α χριστὲ ὁ θεόσ	χριστέ· u∿ ὁ θεόσ·	χριστὲ ὁ θεόσ·
	∿ εἶδον ∿ ἀγγέλουσ	α εἶδον ἀγγέλουσ·	β εἶδον ἀγγέλουσ·
9	∿ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ	πλ α ἐν τῷ τάφῳ·	ἐν τῷ τάφῳ
	πλ α καὶ ἐξέστησαν	πλ α καὶ ἐξέστησαν·	καὶ ἐξέστησαν
11	∿ φωνῆσ γὰρ δ ἤκουον	δ φωνῆσ γὰρ ἤκουον·	φωνῆσ γάρ· α ἤκουον
	∿ ἐξ αὐτῶν	∿ ἐξ αὐτῶν·	ἐξ αὐτῶν·
13	πλ α ὅτι ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριοσ	πλ α ὅτι ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριοσ·	πλ α ὅτι ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριοσ·
	δωρούμενοσ ∿ ἡμῖν	δωρούμενοσ· ∿ ἡμῖν·	δωρούμενοσ· β ἡμῖν·
15	δ τὸ μέγα ἔλεοσ.	πλ δ τὸ μέγα· u∿ ἔλεοσ.	τὸ μέγα ἔλεοσ.

54a. For practical reasons the intonations and signatures of Examples 19 and 20 have been reduced and normalized as much as possible.

Example 19. SHORT PSALTIC VERSION. Conspectus of signatures:

	Vat.gr.345, 41r	Γ.γ.III, 52v	Patm.221, 178v	Par.gr.397, 48r	E.β.VII, p.339	Ashb.64, 246r	Vat.gr.1562, 13r	Sin.1280, 75v
1	β	β	β	β	β	β	β	β
2	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	
3	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α		πλ α	
4	β	β	β	∿	∿	∿	∿	
5	δ	δ		δ	δ			
6	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	
7	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α		πλ α	
7, ὁ θεόσ	u∿		u∿					
8	∿	∿	∿	∿	πλ β	δ	δ	
8, ἀγγέλουσ	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿			
9	∿	∿	∿					
10	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α		πλ α	
11	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	
11, ἤκουον	δ	δ		δ	δ			
12	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿		∿ ?	
13	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	∿	πλ δ	πλ δ	πλ δ	
14			πλ α					
14, ἡμῖν	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿			
15	δ	δ	δ	δ	δ	δ	δ	

Example 19. LONG PSALTIC VERSION.
Conspectus of signatures:

	Vat.gr.1606, 155r	E.β.I, 138r	Γ.γ.V, 138v	Messina 129, 174r
1	β	β	β	β
4	∿		β	β
5	δ	δ		
6	β		β	β
7			∿	
7, ὁ θεόσ	u∿		u∿	u∿
8	α	∿	α	α
9	πλ α	∿	∿	∿
10	πλ α		πλ α	πλ α
11	δ	δ	β	β
11, ἤκουον		δ		
12	∿	∿	∿	?
13	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α
14, ἡμῖν	∿	∿		
15	πλ δ	u∿	∿	∿
15, ἔλεοσ	u∿	u∿	u∿	u∿

Example 19. ASMATIC VERSION.
Conspectus of signatures:

	Vat.gr.1606, 156r	Γ.γ.I, 6r	Γ.γ.VII, 3r	Messina 129, 175r
1	β	β	β	β
3	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α
4	β	β	β	β
5	α	δ	α	α
8	β	πλ α	πλ α	πλ α
11, ἤκουον	α	ἀκῶ(!)	α ?	α
13	πλ α	πλ α		πλ α
13, -γέρθη		∿		
13, ὁ κύριοσ		∿	∿	
14, ἡμῖν	β	β	β	β

The other example, Example 20, is the Hypakoe of Plagios Deuteros. Here a different way of presentation has to be used, because of the length of the lines.

<u>Example 20</u> (a = Short Psaltic version, from Vatic. gr. 345;
b = Long Psaltic version, from Vatic. gr. 1606;
c = Asmatic version, from Γ.γ.I)[55]:

1		Τῷ	ἑκουσίῳ	καὶ	ζωοποιῷ	σου
a	πλ β					
b	πλ β					
c	πλ β					

2		θανάτῳ	Χριστέ
a	β		
b	∿		
c			

3		πύλασ	τοῦ	Ἅδου	συντρίψασ	ὡσ	θεόσ
a					∿∿		
b	β		∿∿				
c	β						

4		ἤνοιξασ	ἡμῖν	τὸν	πάλαι	παράδεισον
a	β					δ
b	β			β		
c	β			β		

5		καὶ	ἀναστάσ
a	∿		
b	πλ δ		
c	πλ δ		

6		ἐκ	νεκρῶν
a			
b	πλ δ		
c	πλ δ		

55. Cf. above, p.108, note 54a.

7		ἐρρύσω	ἐκ	φθορᾶσ
a	πλ β			
b	πλ β			
c	πλ β			

8		τὴν	ζωὴν	ἡμῶν
a	πλ δ			
b	πλ α			
c				

<u>Example 20. SHORT PSALTIC VERSION. Conspectus of signatures:</u>

	Vat.gr.345, 43v	Γ.γ.III, 55r	Patm.221, 182r	Par.gr.397, 50v	E.β.VII, p.346	Ashb.64, 250r	Vat.gr.1562, 66v	Sin.1280, 80r
1	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β
2	β	β	β	β	β			conf.Ison!
2, Χριστέ		∿∿	∿∿					
3		β	πλ α	β	β	β	β	
3, τοῦ				?				conf.Ison!
3, συντρίψασ	∿∿	∿∿			∿∿			
3, ὡσ			∿∿					
4	β	β	β	∿	β	β	β	β
4, ἡμῖν								πλ β
4, παράδεισον	δ	δ	δ					πλ α
5	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿	∿
6			πλ α			πλ δ	πλ δ	πλ δ
7	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β
8	πλ δ		β					β

Example 20. LONG PSALTIC VERSION.[56]
Conspectus of signatures:

	Vatic.gr.1606, 164r	E.β.I, 143r	Γ.γ.V, 147v
1	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β
2	∿∿	∿∿	∿∿
2, Χριστέ			u∿∿
3	β		β
3, τοῦ	u∿∿	u∿∿	
3, συντρίψασ			u∿∿
3, ὤσ		u∿∿	
4	β	β	β
4, τόν	β	δ	∿∿
5	πλ δ	∿∿	πλ β
6	πλ δ		
7	πλ β		πλ β
8	πλ α		πλ α

Example 20. ASMATIC VERSION.
Conspectus of signatures:

	Vatic.gr.1606, 164v	Γ.γ.I, 10r	Γ.γ.VII, 13r
1	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β
3	β	β	β
4	β	β	β
4, τόν	β	β	β
5	πλ δ	πλ δ	πλ δ
6		πλ δ	πλ δ
7	πλ β	πλ β	πλ β

Examples 19 and 20 show that medial signatures (medial intonations) are used in the same way - at least generally speaking - in the Asmatic and Psaltic performances. Not only in the placing of the MeSi but also in their choice, do we find numerous points of agreement between the Asmatic version and the two Psaltic versions[57]. As to the melodies them-

56. The long Psaltic and the Asmatic versions are missing in Messina 129.

57. The most curious case is the almost total lack of MeSi before the refrain in Example 19, line 14.

selves, there are enough similarities to make us believe that they are also genetically related[58].

Although on the whole the use of medial intonations and signatures is the same in the Asmatic and Psaltic settings of the Hypakoai, there is one remarkable difference between the two ways of singing: In the Psaltic Hypakoai the MeInt follow the text-structure more closely than they do in the Asmatikon (see Example 19, above, p.108). Thus, it is mainly in the Asmatic version that we find red MeInt in the middle of a word (cf. Example 18: τοο γε∿∿εεεεενοοονοχοχοχοχοσ), quite often near the end of a line. For instance, in the Hypakoe of Plagios Tetartos (Αἱ μυροφόροι) Γ.γ.I has

... τωω μνηηχηουη νεαγιε ηηημαπιγγι,

... τον αθαχαχαναχαουα νεαγιε αααανατογγον,

... εμηηηνυογγοοχοχοοοουο νανα ουοοοοχοοοχοοουοον,

... εχεουεουε...ουε νανεανεανε εεχεχε...ελεο...οσ.

It is easy to see a parallel between these red MeInt and the ekhematic syllables which in the Asmatic (and Kalophonic) singing are used to support melismata[59]; both show a certain lack of respect for the word which is rarely found in the Psaltikon settings.

If we turn once more to Example 19, the Ashburnham Psaltikon is another illustration of the way in which the MeInt of the short Psaltic version reflect the structure of the text. Peculiar to this MS is its avoidance of MeSi before the last verse in a group of short-verses (lines 3, 5, 7, 10, 12).

✡

The similarities and differences in the Asmatikon and Psaltikon use of MeSi (medial intonations) can only be described from rather late sources (13th century, Round notation), since we have no Palæobyzantine Psaltika at our disposal. Thus, we are at best in a position to say what might have been the case in the earlier period, namely that both types of chant were sung - or could be sung - with frequently inserted medial intonations, and that the medial intonations of the Psaltikon probably depended on the structure of text more intimately than those of the Asmatikon.

In the Greek text-Kontakarion Moscow Synod. 437 (PITRA's "Mosquensis"[60]) the first two of the odd-numbered Oikoi of the Akathistos are provided with a number of MeSi in the refrains[61]. These MeSi are very difficult to read (and perhaps some of them are erased?), but they were no doubt written by the original scribe of the MS. Since this is the only source we have for a Palæobyzantine setting of the Akathistos (except the fragment in Coislin 220, reproduced and commented on by WELLESZ in MMB Transcripta IX,

58. Cf. KENNETH LEVY, A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week (Journal of the American Musicological Society 16, 1963), pp.150-154, where Example 12 contains partial transcriptions from the Short Psaltic and the Asmatic versions of the Plagios Deuteros Hypakoe.

59. Cf. HØEG's introduction to MMB IV, pp.27 sqq., and BUGGE's introduction to MMB VI, p.XXII.

60. Cf. Analecta Sacra I, pp.VI-VII and XIII-XV.

61. Described by PITRA, op. cit., p.251: "cæterum intercisa versuum discrimina statuuntur sæpe ex ipsis clausulis echo referentibus".

pp.LIII-LV), I give here a list of its MeSi, referring to WELLESZ's numbering of lines:

πλ α before lines 8 and 9
βαρ before lines 10 and 11
δ before lines 12 and 14
δ before line 21?
πλ δ before lines 22 and 23.

Apart from these there are a few other illegible MeSi in Oikos I, before the χαιρες between lines 14 and 21.

A comparison with the later Psaltic form (MMB Transcripta IX) makes it likely that the Moscow MS had a similar melody in mind; but the case of the Psaltic and Asmatic Hypakoai (Examples 19-20) forbids any rash conclusion. Interesting as this old setting of the Akathistos certainly is, its implications are still as uncertain as those of the Hypakoai of the Blagoveschensky Kondakar (cf. above, pp.106-107), even more so, since the Akathistos in Moscow Synod.437 might even have been sung to the lost syllabic melody.

✩

The chant described in the Book of Ceremonies by Konstantine Porphyrogennetos does not properly belong to church music. But since some of the pieces are provided with intonation syllables that are almost identical with those known from the Asmatikon, it may be argued that these pieces were set to melismatic melodies of some kind[62].

The most interesting case is the Δοξάζομέν σε Χριστέ (Book II, 78 (69); fol. 132r of the Leipzig MS), where the following performance is prescribed:

οἱ κράκται:	Νανάϊα	ὁ λαόσ:	Δοξάζομέν σε Χριστέ,
"	Νανά	"	βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων,
"	Νανά	"	μονογενῆ λόγε τοῦ πατρόσ,
"	Ἀνανάϊα	"	ὅτι ἐπεσκέψω καὶ ἐφώτισασ
"	Νανά	"	τὸν λαόν σου,
"	Ἅγια	"	καὶ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου ἀπήλλαξασ ἡμᾶσ
"	Νανάϊα	"	καὶ προσήγαγεσ ἡμᾶσ
"	Νανάϊα	"	τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
"	Ἀνανάϊα	"	μεσιτείᾳ
"	Ἀνανάϊα	"	<τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν
"	Ἀνανάϊα>	"	ὡσ μόνοσ παντοδύναμοσ.

It is by no means certain, however, that these MeInt, which in the piece that I have just quoted reflect a division into short-verses, guarantee that the text was sung melismatically - as these 'Asmatic intonation syllables' might suggest. We could more readily imagine the λαόσ taking part in the singing if the melody were more simple; and as there are plenty of Stikhera (from a later period) with a similar division into short-verses, we cannot exclude the possibility that this text was sung in a simple style.

One of the hymns ascribed to Cassia (for St. Christine, July 24)[63] comes remarkably close to the hymn from the Book of Ceremonies. In the Stikherarion Sinai 1564, fol.150r, it is provided with the following signatures:

δ Δοξάζομέν σου Χριστέ·
τὴν πολλὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν·
δ καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα·
β τὴν εἰσ ἡμᾶσ γενομένην·
ὅτι καὶ γυναῖκεσ·
κατήργησαν τὴν πλάνην·
α τῆσ εἰδωλομανίασ·
ᔐ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ σου φιλάνθρωπε·
πλ α τύραννον οὐκ ἐπτοήθησαν·
δ τὸν δόλιον κατεπάτησαν
δ ἴσχυσαν δὲ ὀπίσω σου ἐλθεῖν·
πλ α εἰσ ὀσμὴν, μύρου σου ἔδραμον·
ᔐ πρεσβεύουσαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν:-

62. Cf. JACQUES HANDSCHIN, Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung, Basel 1942, especially pp.30 sqq. and 41 sq.

63. Transcribed by TILLYARD in 1911 (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 20, 1911, pp.480-481). Cf. HENRICA FOLLIERI, Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae I, p.320.

For other hymns the Book of Ceremonies indicates one MeInt only. In these cases the probability is perhaps even greater that the melodies were in Stikheraric or a similar simple style. At any rate, the similarity between the previously quoted examples (Examples 1-6, above, pp. 90-94) and the following cannot be denied:

οἱ κράκται:	Ἅγια.
ὁ λαόσ:	Ἀνδρίζεται ἡ πόλισ ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων,
	δεξαμένη ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου θρέμματοσ τὴν σωτηρίαν,
	καὶ δοξάζεται τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆσ ἐξουσίασ·
<οἱ κράκται:>	Ἀνανάγια.
<ὁ λαόσ:>	ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο αὐτῷ ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψουσ
	διὰ σοῦ, ὁ δεῖνα ἄναξ,
	τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντοσ δικαιοσύνην
	καὶ χρισθέντοσ ἐν ελαίῳ παρὰ κυρίου,
	ἐβραβεύθη εἰρήνη τῇ πολιτείᾳ
	τῷ ρυσαμένῳ ἐξ ἐχθρῶν τοὺσ αἰχμαλώτουσ.

(Book II, 72(63); Leipzig MS fol. 119v).

✩

As mentioned earlier in this book, a considerable number of old text-Menaia, text-Triodia, and text-Kontakaria frequently indicate intonations to be sung before the Kontakia-refrains[64]. The intonation is only prescribed before the refrain of the Oikoi, never in the Prooimia. This is significant, since the Oikos refrains were to be sung by the congregation (or a choir), whereas the refrain when it first occurred - in the Prooimion - was sung by the soloist[65]. Although the Kontakia in question are usually reduced to Prooimion + one Oikos and thus can be supposed to have been sung melismatically[66], there are a few examples of unreduced Kontakia which are provided with 'refrain-intonations'. The melodies of these Kontakia might be syllabic, but not necessarily so[67]. In other words, there is at least a possibility that the 'refrain-intonations' were transferred to the melismatic Kontakion singing from an older syllabic style.

64. Sinai 569, 581, 754, 925, 926; Paris gr. 13, 1570; Vatican gr. 1212; Regin. gr. 59; Vallicellianus E 54; Moscow Synod. 437; Jerusalem Saba 63; Escorial Ψ-IV-13; Madrid 4550. In some of these MSS all refrains are provided with intonations (for instance Sinai 569 and Paris gr. 1570), in others the intonations are only given sporadically (e.g. Sinai 926, Paris gr. 13). When the MSS do not write the Oikos refrains at all, the 'refrain-intonations' occasionally end the Oikoi (especially in Sinai 926).

65. Cf. above, p.81. In Typografsky Ustav the Oikos refrains are usually introduced by the word ЛЮДИК, "the people" (MMB VI, Introduction, p.XVII, note 19).

66. Cf. KENNETH LEVY, An early chant for Romanus' Contacium Trium Puerorum? (Classica et Mediaevalia 22, 1961), p.172.

67. The Akathistos is a well-known exception; Ashburnham 64 contains melismatic music for all 24 Oikoi. According to PITRA (Analecta Sacra I,677) the Akathistos in Vatican gr. 1212 has 'refrain-intonations' in several of its Oikoi. In Paris gr. 1570, foll. 135v sqq. all 24 Oikoi of Ὁ καθαρώτατοσ ναόσ (November 21, Presentation) have nana-signatures before the refrain.

PITRA's description of these signatures and intonations is now antiquated, since he took the syllables to be abbreviations of the word ἀνακλώμενον (= refrain)[68]. A nana in the last Oikos of the Akathistos (in Sinai 925) is correctly explained by LIBADARAS in TOMADAKIS's Romanos edition, vol. 3,1, 1957, p.πα´,note 4. But apart from this isolated observation nobody seems to have paid any attention to the 'refrain-intonations' and their signatures since PITRA's days. I therefore include in the present paragraph a short description:

In most of the MSS listed above (p.115, note 64), the 'refrain-intonation' is invariably a nana, either given as intonation (N̂N̂ with main by-forms NΔN and ĦĦ) or as signature (żż , z̄z̄ , zz , z/z , ιι , ss , χ , ››); the last forms of the nana-signature are typical of Saba 63 and Regin. gr. 59. Intermediate forms are also found, such as N (Sinai 754, 315r), ĦĦ (Sinai 926, 75r), and N̄N̄ (Vatican gr. 1212, according to PITRA p.677).

In at least three MSS - Sinai 754, Vatican gr. 1212, Vallicellianus E 54 - we also find the following intonation syllables:

ἀναάγια: Sinai 754 (265r, 271v), cf. Vatican gr. 1212's ἈΝΆ (PITRA 677)

ἀνανάγια: Sinai 754 (295r, 302r); Vatican gr. 1212, Vallicellianus E 54 (?, cf. PITRA p.LXXV),

ναάγια: Vatican gr. 1212, according to PITRA.

68. For the terminology, see NAOUMIDES's description of Patmos 212 in TOMADAKIS's edition of Romanos (vol.2,1954, pp.σοα´-σοβ´).

From this survey of the 'refrain-intonations' two important observations can immediately be made:

(1) The intonations in Sinai 754, Vallicellianus E 54, and Vatican gr. 1212 are identical with the intonations of the Asmatikon and the Book of Ceremonies[69].

(2) As to the overwhelming use of the nana - regardless of the mode of the Kontakia in question - this does not seem to fit into the pattern which we know from other musical sources[70].

At the moment I cannot see that we are in a position to draw any conclusions from these observations - unless it were a most tentative hypothesis about the alleged melismatic melodies for these Kontakia, namely that they were Asmatic rather than Psaltic.

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At the end of the paragraphs on medial signatures and intonations in Palæobyzantine musical manuscripts it will be convenient to state briefly the results of the investigation:

(a) Neither melismatic nor syllabic melodies are systematically provided with indications of medial intonations, nor are the scribes consistent in their choice between MeSi and MeInt[71]. It is therefore not possible to draw a clear line between types of singing with medial intonations and without medial intonations, nor to conclude e silentio from MSS that only occasionally indicate the place of a medial intonation, or do not contain any such indications.

(b) Of the three main types of MeInt-singing, one seems to belong to the syllabic style (Stikhera and Heirmoi); it is characterized by a modest number of MeSi, usually a single one per hymn. These MeSi usually prepare and support a modal change, but may also be used as a means of dividing the hymn into sections without any change of mode[72].

The other main type - frequent MeInt, with a structuralizing function - seems to belong properly to melismatic chant[73]. For the Palæobyzantine period it can only be directly shown in the Asmatikon style; but from a comparison between later Asmatikon and Psaltikon usage it may be argued that the structuralizing MeInt were even more at home in the Psaltikon[74].

As for the third type - the 'refrain-intonations' - our main source is the neumeless Kontakion tradition, and though it could be only hypothetically postulated that the melodies envisaged by these MSS were melismatic (Asmatic? cf. above, p.116), it seemed reasonable to infer that the refrains were not sung by the same singer(s) as the Prooimion and the body of the Oikos. Thus it is a matter of definition whether to call these intonations MeInt or MInt[75].

(c) Because of the way in which MeInt are prescribed in the Slavonic Kondakars we have to reckon with the possibility that medial intonations (for some genres?) were reserved for solemn occasions[76]. However, the material - as I know it - allows of no binding conclusions.

☆☆☆

If we now proceed from the Palæobyzantine MSS to the following period, the period of Round notation, we are moving on much more familiar ground. The outlines of the development of MeInt-singing can therefore be given with more precision. Also here a separate treatment of each genre recommends itself.

Medial Signatures and Intonations in Later Melismatic Chant.

Concerning the two old répertoires - the Asmatikon and the Psaltikon - much has already been said in a previous paragraph; the scarcity of early sources forced us at the time to draw on MSS in Round notation (above, pp.102-114). This could only be done because a comparison between

69. Cf. pp.103 sqq. and 114 sq. There may be similar intonations in Paris gr. 13, Escorial Ψ-IV-13, Sinai 925, and Madrid 4550 (I have not been through these MSS from one end to the other). As to Vatican gr. 1212 and Vallicellianus E 54, I know them only from PITRA's descriptions.

70. Cf. below, p.157.

71. In Saba 63, the nana-signature is used 24 times, the full form ĦĦ only 3 times, and on folios 61r-145r the Oikos refrains have no such indications at all. In the Slavonic area, the Stikherarion Moscow Synod.589 furnishes us with a single MeInt (fol.80v: НЄ А НЄ), but has MeSi as regularly as the Palæobyzantine Stikheraria.

72. Cf. above, p.92, on the Stikheron Ἀναλαμβανομένου σου.

73. Cf., however, above, pp.94-96. As to the Δοξάζομέν σε Χριστέ and other hymns of the kind in the Book of Ceremonies, we cannot decide with certainty whether they had simple or melismatic melodies; cf. above, pp.114-115.

74. Cf. above, p.113. The unique Palæobyzantine kalophonic Stikhera in E.α.XI (see below, p. 118, note 80) are provided with many MeSi. These interesting pieces, which ought to be studied in detail, thus confirm my observations about the connection between medial intonations and melismatic chant (cf. also below, p.118).

75. In the Polyeleos (cf. above, p.106) we have seen 'refrain-intonations' as unquestionably medial intonations.

76. Cf. above, pp.106-107.

12th cent. Slavonic tradition and South Italian MSS of a later date had shown a surprising stability, sometimes down to the smallest details (see Examples 15-18, above, pp.104-105). It is true that this stability could only be demonstrated from a very restricted material, owing to the lack of explicitness in the Slavonic Asmatikon tradition.

The situation changes completely after the introduction of the new notation. The Round Asmatika and Psaltika are usually so explicit in prescribing MeInt that the presence or absence of MeSi or MeInt in a given piece can safely be assumed to reflect an actual performance, probably that of the church or monastery where the MS was intended to be used. This fortunate situation, however, does not mean that the later MSS of melismatic chant are unproblematic, as far as their use of MeInt is concerned. The local ways of performing the different kinds of melismatic melodies still have to be studied in detail[77].

Generally speaking, the rules for the use of MeInt in the Asmatikon and Psaltikon styles seem to have undergone no substantial change. If my interpretation of Examples 17-18 and 19-20 (above, pp.106 and 112-113) is correct, the innovation of the Round MSS is not a change in principles of performance, but simply explicitness in a field where the necessity of being explicit was not felt before. Some scribes went quite far in this respect and wrote full MeInt at places where the other MSS only have the corresponding MeSi - for instance the scribe of Patmos 221 and the so-called 'amanuensis' of Ashburnham 64[78].

☆

As for the 'new' genre of melismatic chant - the kalophonic style which at present can be traced back to the early 12th century[79] - its use of medial signatures and intonations can still be only provisionally described, as long as transcriptions and studies of these highly melismatic melodies have not yet been published[80].

In Chapter VI (above, p.80) I have used different settings of a well-known Christmas Doxastikon to illustrate the ceremonious performance of Stikhera. But even though these settings are taken from kalophonic Stikheraria, Sinai 1234 and Sinai 1259, they are not typical of the kalophonic style. It will therefore be necessary to include some more characteristic examples of kalophonic singing in the present chapter, both ordinary and proper hymns. My source for most of these is the earliest dated copy of Koukouzeles's Ἀκολουθίαι (anthology of ordinary chant), Athens 2458 from A.D.1336[81].

For my present purpose it is not necessary to transcribe the melodies, since my concern is only to show how intimately the MeSi are connected with the structure of the texts. The length of the melodies can be seen from the count of MS-lines added in the right-hand margin. As for the meaningless syllables used for some parts of the melodies, I have not tried to render these exactly. For 'teretismata' (τι τι τι, το το, ρε ρε ρε, etc.) I use five dots (.....)[82]; for ekhematic syllables (α∿αυεε∿αυεεε etc.) the symbol used is five strokes (-----).

77. Such studies should probably be centred on single MSS (cf. my remarks on Ashburnham 64, above, p.113). The MSS-descriptions in THODBERG's thesis (Chapter II) give an idea of the problems in the Psaltikon. Cf. also the parallel from the performance of Stikhera (below, pp.129 sqq.).

78. Cf. above, pp.32-33.

79. KENNETH LEVY, A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week, p.156, note 48.

80. A beginning has been made by KENNETH LEVY in the article quoted in note 79 (pp.155 sqq.). In STRUNK's Specimina notationum antiquiorum (MMB VII), plates 73-75 show kalophonic Stikhera in Palæobyzantine notation from E.α.XI; in these settings there are many MeSi.

81. Cf. STRUNK in The Antiphons of the Oktoechos, p.53.

Example 22: Kalophonic setting of a Stikhos from the Prooimiakos (Ps. 2,1). By Koukouzeles. Athens 2458, 22v-24r. Plagios Tetartos (by mistake no MSi in the manuscript):

	I..... ινα τι	7 lines
πλ δ	ινα τι εφρυαξαν• εφρυαξαν εθνη ινα τι λαοι κενα εμελετησαν ινα τι•	6 "
∿∿	ινα τι λαοι• κενα εμελετησαν εμελετησαν κενα ινα τι εφρυ-αξαν εθνη και λαοι•	5 "
∿∿	ινα τι εφρυαξαν ινα τι παρεστησαν	2 "
δ	ινα τι συνηχθησαν οι αρχοντεσ επι το αυτο εμελετησαν ινα τι•	4 "
πλ δ	ινα τι..... εφρυαξαν• εφρυαξαν εθνη και εθνη και λαοι• εμελετησαν εμελετησαν κενα ινα τι•	8 "
πλ β	ινα τι κενα εμελετησαν παλιν	2 "
	ινα τι κενα εμελετησαν κατα του κυριου ινα τι λαοι κενα λαοι κενα εμελετησαν εμελετησαν• εμελετησαν κενα ινα τι•	8 "
πλ β	ινα τι..... ινα τι• εμελετησαν οι λαοι κενα αλλη..... λουια αλλη αλλη αλληλουια.	16 "

Example 23. Kalophonic setting of a Stikhos from a Polyeleos (Ps. 134). By Korones. Athens 2458, 106v-107v:

α	Εεεεεεε	½ line
α	ευλογητοσ• κυριοσ κυριοσ εκ σιων ο κατοικων ιερουσαλημ κυριοσ εκ σιων ευλογητοσ•	6 "
α	ευλογητοσ κυ κυριοσ εκ σιων οσ επαταξεν εθνη πολλα• και απεκτεινε βασιλεισ κραταιουσ ο κυριοσ•	6 "
πλ α	ευλογητοσ κυριοσ• οσ επαταξε τα πρωτοτοκα αιγυπτου απο αν-θρωπου εωσ κτηνουσ• και εδωκε την γην αυτων κληρονομι-αν ισραηλ τω λαω αυτου• ο κατοικων ιερουσαλημ κυριοσ•	10 "
πλ α	παντα οσα ηθελησεν εποιησεν ο κυριοσ• παντα οσα ηθελησεν εποιησεν εν τω ουρανω και εν τη γη•	6 "
	τιτιτι.....ε∿αααα	9 "
	ευλογητοσ εκ σιων ο κυριοσ ο κατοικων ιερουσαλημ κυριοσ αλληλουια.	4 "

82. A fairly simple teretism is transcribed below in Example 25 (p.123).

Example 24. Kalophonic setting of a Stikheron for the Euangelismos (March 25). By Koukouzeles. Sinai 1234, 291r-293r[83]:

*	β	Εε•-----	4½ lines
*	β	ευαγγελιζεται ο γαβριηλ•	1 "
	β	τη κεχαριτωμενη σημερον•	1½ "
	β	ευαγγελιζεται• τη κεχαριτωμενη σημερον• ο γαβριηλ	2 "
*	β	ευαγγελιζεται σημερον•	1½ "
	β	..... ευαγγελιζεται ο γαβριηλ• τη κεχαριτωμενη σημερον:-	16 "
		Δεύτεροσ ποῦσ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸν στιχηρόν, ποίημα τοῦ μαΐστωροσ	
*	β	Χαιρε ανυμφευτε μητηρ και απειρογαμε• και χαιρε• χαιρε μητηρ απειρογαμε•	3½ "
*	β	μη καταπλαγησ την ξενην μου μορφην•	1½ "
	β	μηδε μηδε δειλιασησ παρθενε•	1½ "
	β	αρχαγγελοσ ειμι• και χαιρε μη δειλιασησ•	1½ "
*	β	μη δειλιασησ παρθενε•	1 "
	β	την ξενην μου μορφην μη καταπλαγησ• αρχαγγελοσ ειμι• και χαι και χαιρε•	3 "
*	β	..... μη καταπλαγησ• την ξενην μου μορφην• μηδε δειλιασησ• αρχαγγελοσ ειμι και χαιρε:-	10 "
		Τρίτοσ ποῦσ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸν στιχηρόν	
*	πλ δ	Οφισ εξηπατησεν ευαν ποτε	1 "
	∾	οφισ εξηπατησεν ευαν ποτε	1½ "
	∾	νυν ευαγγελιζομαι σοι την χαραν• μητηρ ανυμφευτε	2 "
	πλ δ	και μενεισ αφθοροσ και τεξησ τον κυριον αχραντε•	2½ "
*	πλ δ		3½ "
*	δ		1 "
*	δ	..... και μενεισ αφθοροσ• και τεξησ τον κυριον αχραντε	9½ "
		ἀποχοροῦ	
*	πλ δ	και μενεισ αφθοροσ και	

It can hardly be denied that the MeSi in these three examples are intimately connected with the structure of the text. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that also the kalophonic style used medial intonations (written as MeSi) for structuralizing purposes - the more so, since the repetitions and variations of word-order that characterize the kalophonic style would be

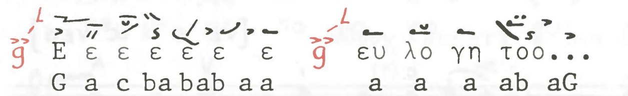
83. The text is found in the Roman edition of the Menaia, p.173. For the simple melody, see MMB I, fol.135v. The asterisks in the left margin indicate the signatures of another source, Sinai 1251, folios 195r-196v.

rather chaotic without the use of some kind of dividing and structuralizing elements[84].

The last of the examples (Example 24) shows the stability of the tradition. Although Sinai 1251 has less MeSi than Sinai 1234, the principles are the same.

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The beginning of Example 23 (above, p.119) can tell us more about the MeSi in this style. The Stikhos starts with a short melody on the vowel Epsilon (the first syllable of the word εὐλογητὸσ)[85]. Now, this melody is so simple that the following MeSi, before the first ευλογητοσ, cannot possibly be needed for reasons of 'scale-orientation':



Its raison d'être is more likely to be sought in the type of performance for which the Stikhos was composed. Such beginnings do not make sense, I think, unless they are sung by "somebody else". The hypothesis is confirmed by the way in which some scribes have used red ink to write these introductory melismata[86].

The MeSi before ευλογητοσ would then have been meant for the use of those who 'took over' - being thus, in a way, no medial signature at all but a real MSi. It may be objected to this hypothesis that the attack of the choir would have been indicated by a "ὅλοι" after the introductory melisma, and it is true that there are examples of this way of expression (see below, Example 25, near end). On the other hand, it is just as easy to find clear examples of a total lack of explicitness in such matters. See, e.g., STRUNK's The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia p.183 about a change from precentor to choir that is not indicated at all in the MS[87].

It may even be argued that the medial signatures in the rest of Ex. 23 should be similarly explained. However, since by assuming this we would move from the sphere of probability into that of possibility, it seems more safe to leave the question open until support is eventually found for the idea that the Stikhoi of the kalophonic Polyeleoi were split up into sections sung by alternating performers (soloists or choirs).

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Occasionally the MSS are more explicit in their directions as to performance. A good illustration is Example 25 which is again taken from Athens 2458. This Megalynarion is sung δίχορον; that is, by both choirs. According to the rubrics, the first four sections are sung twice, first by one choir and then by the other. Most of the next, melismatic, section (systems 8-13) was probably sung by a soloist from the first choir, but its conclusion (systems 13-14) was performed by the choir (ὅλοι); this section was not repeated by the second choir. At the end,

84. The ἐπιφωνήματα (a sort of intercalated Kehrvers) are sometimes used in a similar way. For examples, see Ἐνεδύσατο (Athens 2458, 41v-42v), Σὲ μεγαλύνομεν (Sinai 1462, 87v sqq.), and Ἐξομολογήσομαι (Athens 2458, 68r-69v). In the latter, the ἐπιφώνημα is fairly long: υψωθητω η χειρ σου κυριε μη επιλαθη των πενητων σου εισ τελοσ. The ἐπιφωνήματα are usually written with red ink, an indication that they were not sung by those who chanted the rest of the text (cf. above, p.82).

85. Less clear parallels can be seen also in Example 24 and, perhaps, in Examples 22 and 25.
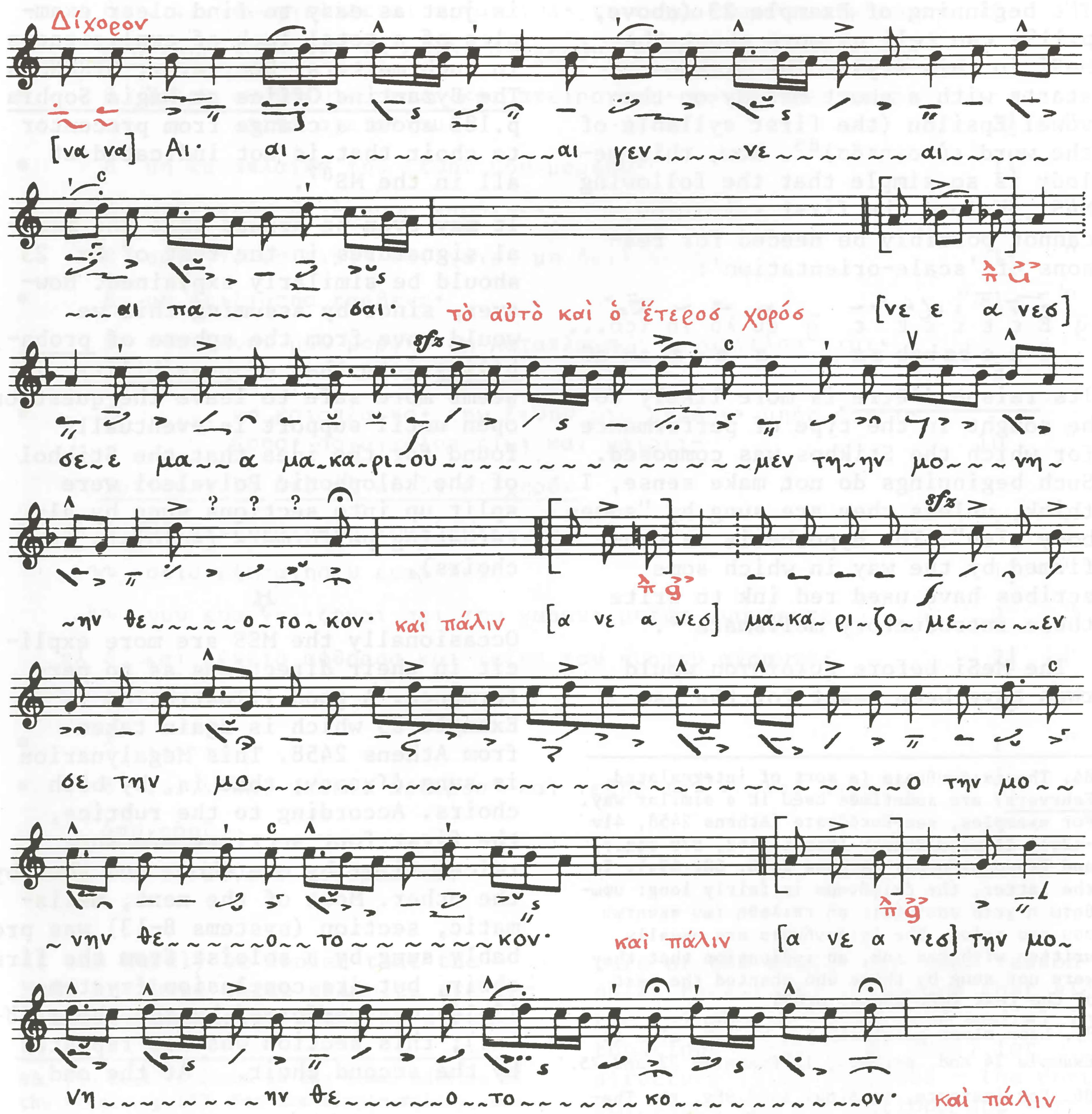
86. For instance, in Sinai 1462,98v, the Theotokion Λαμπάδα φαίδρυνον σεμνή starts with a melisma on the syllable Λααααααααααααααααα, written with red ink.
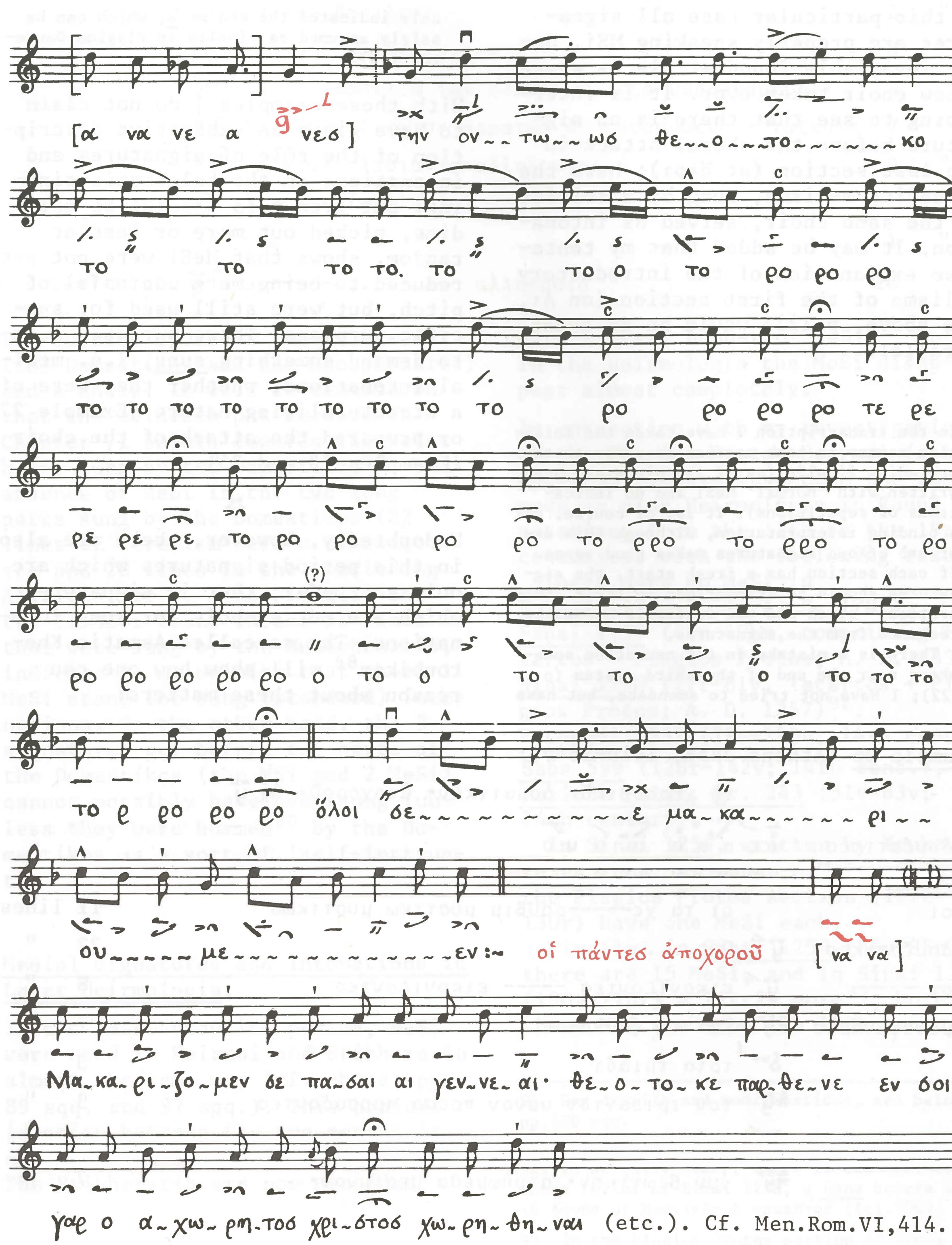
87. Athens 2061, fol.4r,line 7, reproduced by STRUNK as plate 1.

both choirs (οἱ πάντεσ) unite in reciting a text of which only the first phrases are given, the rest being supplied by memory.

As to the beginning of the first section, the similarity with the beginnings of Examples 22-24 would suggest that the introduction (as far as ⁀) was sung by a soloist; unless his colleague from the second choir did the same thing at the repetition, the second choir may have started after the ⁀ .

Example 25: A Megalynarion. Athens 2458, fol. 142r-142v:





In this particular case all signatures are properly speaking MSi, being invariably found at places where a new choir takes over. It is interesting to see that there is no signature before the choral attack in the last section (at ὅλοι); here the preceding melisma, sung by a soloist of the same choir, served as intonation. It may be added that my tentative explanation of the introductory melisma of the first section (on Αι, see above, p.122) would be an exact parallel.

In the transcription I have taken the initialis neumes in each section to refer to the preceding finalis (as if the piece had been written with 'normal' MeSi and no indications of repetitions). It is, of course, not a binding interpretation, although this use of ἀπὸ μέλουσ signatures makes good sense. If each section has a fresh start, the signatures should be transcribed in their 'theoretical' pitch and the initialis neumes be reckoned from the signatures.

There is a mistake in the neumation somewhere near the end of the third system (p. 122); I have not tried to emendate, but have only indicated the end on a, which can be safely assumed as finalis in Plagios Deuteros (=E).

With these examples I do not claim to have given an exhaustive description of the rôle of signatures and intonations in the kalophonic singing. But even this handful of melodies, picked out more or less at random, shows that MeSi were not yet reduced to being mere μαρτυρίαι of pitch, but were still used for specific purposes. These purposes seem to demand something sung, i.e. medial intonations, whether they were of a structuralizing nature (Example 22) or prepared the attack of the choir (Examples 23 and 25).

☆

Undoubtedly, however, there are also in this period signatures which are only μαρτυρίαι, that is signatures which are not symbols for sung intonations. The so-called Asmatic Kheroubikon[88] will show how one can reason about these matters:

Example 26 (Athens 2458, 161v-164v):

τὸ χερουβικὸν ἀσματικόν· ἀποχοροῦ· ἦχ

ὁ δομέστικοσ	υεε α α α α α υεσ (b c ab a G aG a b)	
ὅλοι	οι τα χε-----ρουβιμ μυστικω μυστικωσ	11 lines
ὁ δομέστικοσ	Οοο.....	22 "
ὅλοι	εικονιζοντεσ ----- εικονιζοντεσ	8 "
ὁ μονοφωνάρισ	Και τη ζωοποιω	7 "
	τρια τριαδι	3 "
	τον τρισαγιον υμνον προσα προσαδοντεσ	3 "
	πα πασα πασα πα πασαν	9 "
	νυν βιωτικην· αποθωμεθα μεριμναν·	7 "
	ωσ τον βασιλεα	2 "
	ωσ τον βασιλε.....εα	6 "
	ωσ τον βασιλεα των ολων· υποδεξα υποδεξαμενοι·	4 "
	ταισ αγγελικαισ· αορατωσ δορυφορουμενον· ταξεσι·	7 "
	ναλε αλληλουια ναναλληλουια:	3 "
	λεγετεε (syllabic)	
	αλε	1 "
ὁ δομέστικοσ	υε-----.....· λου αλληλουια	28 "

88. Cf. KENNETH LEVY, A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week, pp.165-166 with note 65.

The rubrics speak of two soloists (the Domestikos and the Monophonaris) and a choir. It will be remembered that the evidence put forward in Chapter VI points towards the MeInt being sung by the Domestikos[89]. The absence of MeSi in the two long parts sung by the Domestikos (22 lines of teretism before εἰκονίζοντεσ and 28 lines in the concluding Alleluia, or 50 lines in all) and the 11 MeSi found in the 51 lines that were sung by the Monophonaris, indicate in my opinion that these 11 MeSi stand for sung (standard) intonations. On the other hand, the 3 signatures put before the parts of the Domestikos (the MSi and 2 MeSi) cannot possibly have been sung (unless they were hummed[90] by the Domestikos as a sort of 'self-instruction').

Medial Signatures and Intonations in Later Heirmologia.

In the Palæobyzantine period, MeSi were used in Heirmoi and Stikhera in almost the same way (cf. above, pp. 89 sqq. and 97 sqq.). This basical identity between the two genres is not found in the subsequent period. The Stikheraria are now provided with a great number of MeSi[91], but in the Heirmologia the MeSi disappear almost completely.

In connection with my investigation of the Plagios Protos Heirmoi (above, pp.97-99) I have inspected the same mode in nine Heirmologia in Round notation, from the 13th to the 16th centuries, with the following result:

There were no MeSi in E.γ.II (129r-161r; A. D. 1281), Sinai 1257 (44r-69br, comprising Tetartos + Plagios Protos; A. D. 1350), Sinai 1258 (27r-81v, Tetartos + Plagios Protos; A. D. 1257)[92], Vatopedi 1531 (79v-110v; 14th cent.), Saba 599 (128r-142v; 14th cent.), Vatican Palat. gr. 243 (51v-83v; 14th century).

In Sinai 1256, written by Koukouzeles in A. D. 1309, 8 Heirmoi in the Plagios Protos section (117r-130r) have one MeSi each.

Finally, in Sinai 1259 (86v-95r) there are 15 MeSi, and in Sinai 1260 (186v-210r) a little more[93]; both these MSS are from the 16th century,

89. Cf. above, p.82.

90. Cf. WELLESZ, quoted above, p.78.

91. For details and modifications, see below, pp.128 sqq.

92. To be quite exact, there is one MeSi on these folios of Sinai 1258, a nana before μετὰ φωνῆσ of Μυστικῶσ ὁ προφήτησ (fol.50v).

93. In the Plagios Protos section of Sinai 1260 I have counted 16 MeSi; but since the MeSi in this MS are very small, I may have overlooked some.

and their melodies differ completely from each other and from the two medieval versions[94].

The difference between Stikhera and Heirmoi is well demonstrated in a 14th century Stikherarion, Sinai 1228, which also contains a number of Heirmoi (for major feasts and in the Oktoekhos). The Stikhera are in this MS regularly provided with MeSi, the Heirmoi only sporadically - but not at random[95]. If we compare pieces of approximately the same length (short Stikhera and long Heirmoi), the difference comes out clearly. Thus, on folios 131v sqq. the eight Heirmoi for the Koimesis (August 15), varying in length from 3 to 5 lines of the MS, have no MeSi; but five short Stikhera among those for the Beheading of the Baptist (August 29, folios 135r sqq.), with lengths from 2½ to 5 lines, have 2-3 MeSi each.

The MeSi, however, did not disappear for good from the Heirmoi; in fact, their number even increases in the two 16th century copies.

✫

The reason for these changes is not clear to me. I am inclined to connect the temporary disappearance of MeSi in the Heirmologia with a simplification in the Kanon-performance (of which, however, I believe nothing is known). Regarding the background for the subsequent re-introduction of MeSi we are as badly informed, as the later development of the Heirmological melodies and their performance is yet unexplored[96]. It might perhaps be worth while to consider the possibility that the 'Heirmoi' which in later MSS are provided with MeSi might be the settings used when the Heirmoi were sung as Katabasiai; at any rate, these Katabasiai were not performed in exactly the same way as the rest of the Kanon, but by both choirs together[97], and might conceivably have been sung more like a Stikheron; the term καταβασία appears frequently in the MSS, for instance in Sinai 1228.

Whatever the reason may be, it is evident that these later Heirmological MeSi are not used in the same way as the MeSi in the Palæobyzantine Heirmologia. The primary function of the old MeSi - both in Heirmoi and Stikhera - was to support modal changes and only secondarily do the MeSi get a structuralizing function in themselves[98]. In the later Heirmologia (and Stikheraria) there are many cases where MeSi are placed at textual turning-points that are not reflected in changes of mode. I have picked out a few clear examples from the late Heirmologia to illustrate this point:

94. I should have liked to include also the Heirmologion Dionysiou 172 (old number 95; Lambros 3629) in the investigation. Unfortunately, however, its red ink is usually so pale that it is impossible to read the MeSi. Example 28 (below, p.127) shows one of its readable Heirmoi. The MS is dated by LAMBROS to the 12th century; this is far too early - the MS may be of the 14th century.

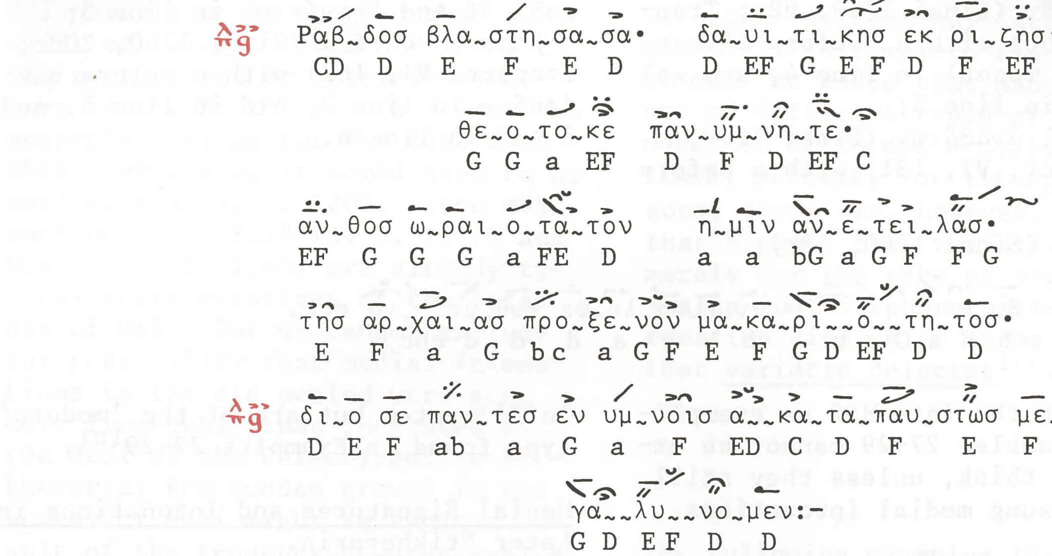
95. Cf. Example 27, below, p.127.

96. The Heirmoi are nowadays sung in three different styles: σύντομον εἱρμολογικόν, ἀργὸν εἱρμολογικόν, καλοφωνικόν (PANAGIOTOPOULOS, pp.134 sqq.). The Troparia of the Kanons are not always sung, but are only recited (cf. CHRIST-PARANIKAS, Anthologia, 1871, p.LXVI).

97. ὁμοῦ οἱ δύο χοροί, cf. the quotations in DUCANGE, 606.

98. Cf. above, pp.96-97.

Example 27 (Sinai 1256, 129v):



The melody in Sinai 1228 (127v) comes close to that of Sinai 1256 and has the same MeSi at the same place.

A similar structure is found in the following Heirmoi[99]:

Ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη (Sinai 1256, 123r; MMB Transcr. VI, p.175) with πλ α before καὶ ψάλλωμεν in the last line;

Ὦ θαῦμα (Sinai 1256, 129v; Transcr. VI, 192) with βαρ before ἐν δυσὶ in the last line;

Ὁ πήξας (Sinai 1259, 87r; Transcr. VI, 135) with α before μόνε ἀγαθὲ in the last line;

Τὴν θείαν (Sinai 1259, 87v; Transcr. VI, 140) with α before εἰς σωτηρίαν in the last line;

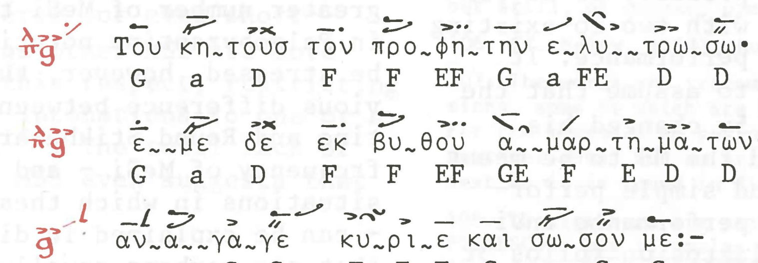
Ὁ τὴν κάμινον (Sinai 1260, 203r; Transcr. VI, 217) with α before εὐλογητὸς εἶ in the last line;

Δροσουμένη (Sinai 1260, 204r; Transcr. VI, 174) with α before εὐλογητὸς εἶ in the last line;

Ὁ δι' ἀγγέλου τοῦς παῖδας (Sinai 1260, 204v; Transcr. VI, 195) with α before εὐλογητὸς εἶ in the last line.

The list is far from being complete.

Example 28 (Dionysiou 172 (old 95), 12v):[100]



99. The references to MMB Transcripta VI (Hirm I) are only meant as an orientation in the textual structure. As mentioned above, pp.125-126, the melodies of Sinai 1256, 1259, 1260 are not of the same tradition as those transcribed in the MMB volume.

100. Cf. above, p.126, note 94.

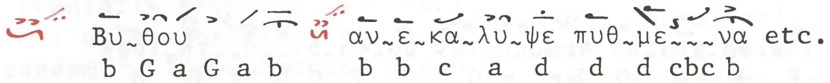
Other instances of this type:

Γῆν ἐφ' ἧν (Sinai 1259, 92v; Transcr. VI, 180) with α before ἄβυσσον in line 3, Ἰσραήλ in line 4, and καὶ εἰσήγαγεσ in line 5;

"Ιππον καὶ ἀναβάτην (Sinai 1259, 86v; Transcr. VI, 131) with α before ὁ συντρίβων in line 2 and before Ἰσραὴλ δέ and ἐπινίκιον in line 3;

Κήτουσ γαστέρα (Sinai 1260, 202r; Transcr. VI, 162) with α before οὐκ ἐφθάρη in line 2, διό in line 5, and ἡ ζωή in line 6.

Example 29 (Sinai 1260, 53r):



The MeSi in the late MSS as exemplified in Examples 27-29 cannot be explained, I think, unless they still stand for sung medial intonations.

✡

Among the MSS that were mentioned on p.125 as having no MeSi, E.γ.II begins in a most peculiar way. On the first folios (3r-5r) it is abundantly provided with MeSi - and it is only from folio 5v to the end that the MS has no MeSi.

From the facsimile edition (MMB III) it is easily seen that the MeSi on folios 3r-5r are written by Theophylaktos, the original scribe of the MS. Even though we cannot decide whether the MeSi were part of the MS as originally planned or whether they are the result of a later collation with another MS, their sudden disappearance is probably to be connected, somehow, with two co-existing types of Heirmos performance. It seems reasonable to assume that the scribe from fol. 5v changed his plans and decided the MS to be meant for a straight and simple performance. As to the performance envisaged by Theophylaktos on folios 3r-5r, a glance at the facsimile edition (or at MMB Transcripta VI, pp. 3-39 where the MS is reproduced with the siglum "G") will show that the MeSi are not put according to the 'old' system but are of the 'modern' type found in Examples 27-29[101].

Medial Signatures and Intonations in Later Stikheraria.

In a previous paragraph I have shown that MeSi in the old Stikheraria were normally put at textual turning-points, usually in connection with a change of mode (above, pp.89-92); at times they were found at textual turning-points that were not melodically underlined by modal changes (above, pp.92-93). In a few cases the MeSi seemed to depend on the verse structure, being found at verse beginnings also where the transition from one line to another meant no grammatical break in the flow of the text (pp.94-96).

The Stikheraria in Round notation are normally provided with a much greater number of MeSi than the ones in Palæobyzantine notation. It must be stressed, however, that the obvious difference between Palæobyzantine and Round Stikheraria as to frequency of MeSi - and as to the situations in which these MeSi occur - can be explained in different ways that are perhaps equally plausible.

101. It cannot be a mere coincidence that all Heirmoi except Ὁ μόνοσ εἰδὼσ (fol.3r) have a MeSi before the last line, the 'refrain' - as in Example 27.

Prima facie the data of the Round Stikheraria would suggest that the shift of interest from the modal to the syntactical or metrical structure of the Stikhera[102] had now been accomplished; as for the date when this took place, it would have to be earlier than A. D. 1200, since MSS such as Sinai 1218 (A. D. 1177) and E.α.IX (A. D. 1180) are already typical representatives of the later use of MeSi. But we cannot exclude the possibility that medial intonations in the old period were sung more frequently than indicated by the MeSi of the Palæobyzantine Stikheraria; the sudden growth in the number of MeSi might be another result of the tendency towards explicitness in the written tradition[103]. I am inclined, however, to believe in the basic correctness of the former explanation. It finds some support in the undeniable diversity of performance types that can be seen in Round Stikheraria, in so far as these co-existing types of performance seem to represent various stages of evolution.

Indeed, great latitude in performance seems to be the distinctive mark of Stikheron-singing in this period. In some MSS medial intonations are prescribed almost before every long-verse (or even short-verse) whereas other MSS are more moderate in this respect, restricting their medial intonations to one or a few per hymn[104]. The total lack of MeSi in some MSS even suggests that Stikhera were locally sung 'in directum' without any intercalations[105]. To complete the picture it must be added that many MSS make use of different types of performance on different occasions - at times, perhaps, for liturgical reasons; there are, however, also cases that suggest that variations occur merely for the sake of variation - also in the sphere of medial intonation singing it seems to be true that variatio delectat[106].

The following examples (Examples 31-33) show how three characteristic MSS treat the processional Stikhera for Christmas Day. Notation and words are taken from Sinai 1218, one of the early representatives of the 'abundant' style[107]. In the columns to the left I insert the signatures from Sinai 1227 - a good representative of a more moderate use of MeSi - and from D, in which different types of performance are to be found[108].

102. Cf. above, pp.96-97.

103. Cf. above, pp.96 and 106.

104. Usually the intonations are only indicated by the corresponding MeSi. The full MeInt will be discussed below, pp.144-147.

105. A conclusion e silentio is here more legitimate than in the Palæobyzantine period, but still, of course, open to discussion.

106. Cf. below, p.133, note 110.

107. The words are transmitted in many versions, some of which are surprisingly corrupt. For the moment I am paying no heed to the text-variants, but am printing the corrupt text as it is found in Sinai 1218.

108. The Stikhera are reproduced in J.-D. PETRESCO's Les idiomeles et le canon de l'office de Noël, Paris 1932, on plates XXI-XXII (Paris gr. 261) and XXIX (Coislin 41); three Palæobyzantine sources are reproduced ibidem, plates I-II (Δ.α.XIV), VII-VIII (Paris gr. 242), and XIII-XIV (Paris gr. 356). In Δ.α.XIV there are no MeSi; but the two other Palæobyzantine MSS have one each, a Tritos-MeSi before line 6 of Example 32.

Example 31 (Sinai 1218, 70v; Sinai 1227, 71v; D, 93r):

D Sinai 1227 Sinai 1218

1 Ο ου‿ρα‿νοσ και η γη·
a G EF G a a a a

2 ση‿με‿ρον η‿νω‿θη‿σαν
bc a a G a G G

τεχ‿θεν‿τοσ του χρι‿στου·
G a F E D EF C

3 ση‿με‿ρον θε‿οσ ε‿πι γησ
EF G G G a E F D EF G a

πα‿ρα‿γε‿γο‿νεν·
a bG a GF F GaGEF

4 και ο αν‿θρω‿ποσ εισ ου‿ρα‿νουσ
E F ab a G C E FG

α‿να‿βε‿βη‿κε·
G a EF D EF C

5 ση‿με‿ρον ο‿ρα‿ται σαρ‿κι·
EF G G a E F D EF a

6 ο φυ‿σει α‿ο‿ρα‿τοσ
a E

δι‿α τον αν‿θρω‿πον·
a a b G a G F F GaGEF

7 δι‿α του‿το και η‿μει·
E F ab a a Ga a

8 δο‿ξο‿λο‿γουν‿τεσ
E C D FG G

βο‿η‿σω‿μεν αυ‿τω·
G a F E D D

9 δο‿ξα εν υ‿ψι‿στοισ θε‿ω
a G EF Ga a a a

και ε‿πι γησ ει‿ρη‿νην·
G E FG a G F F

10 ε‿βρα‿βευ‿σεν γαρ·
EF a G EF a

11 η παρ‿ου‿σι‿α σου σω‿τηρ
E C D EF E D EF G

η‿μων δο‿ξα σοι:-
G a EF D D

Notes to Example 31: In lines 3-4 there are two errors in the neumation of Sinai 1218: (ε)πι and ου(ρανουσ). Sinai 1227 has the right neumes; the version in D agrees with Sinai 1227 in line 3 but has a different formula in the beginning of line 4. In line 9 the Hypsele on δο(ξα) is missing; the neumes over γαρ in line 10 and -τηρ η- in line 11 are illegible, but are found in D and Sinai 1227.

Example 32 (Sinai 1218, 70v; Sinai 1227, 71v; D, 93v):

D Sinai 1227 Sinai 1218

1 Δο‿ξα εν υ‿ψι‿στοισ θε‿ω·
a a G EF G a a a a

2 εν βη‿θλε‿εμ α‿κου‿ων·
G E FG a G a Da

3 υ‿πο α‿σω‿μα‿των ση‿με‿ρον·
a a G EF G a EF D D

4 τω ε‿πι γησ ει‿ρη‿νην·
D E F G a E F DE C

5 ευ‿δο‿κη‿σαν‿τι γε‿νε‿σθαι·
E F ab a G aG F F

6 νυν η παρ‿θε‿νοσ·
F c c d bc c a

7 ου‿ρα‿νων·
a a C

8 πλα‿τυ‿τε‿ρα·
a a cb aG G a b c a G a

9 εξ‿αν‿ε‿τει‿λεν γαρ φωσ
E F ab a G EF G

τοισ ε‿σκο‿τισ‿με‿νοισ·
G G a F E D D

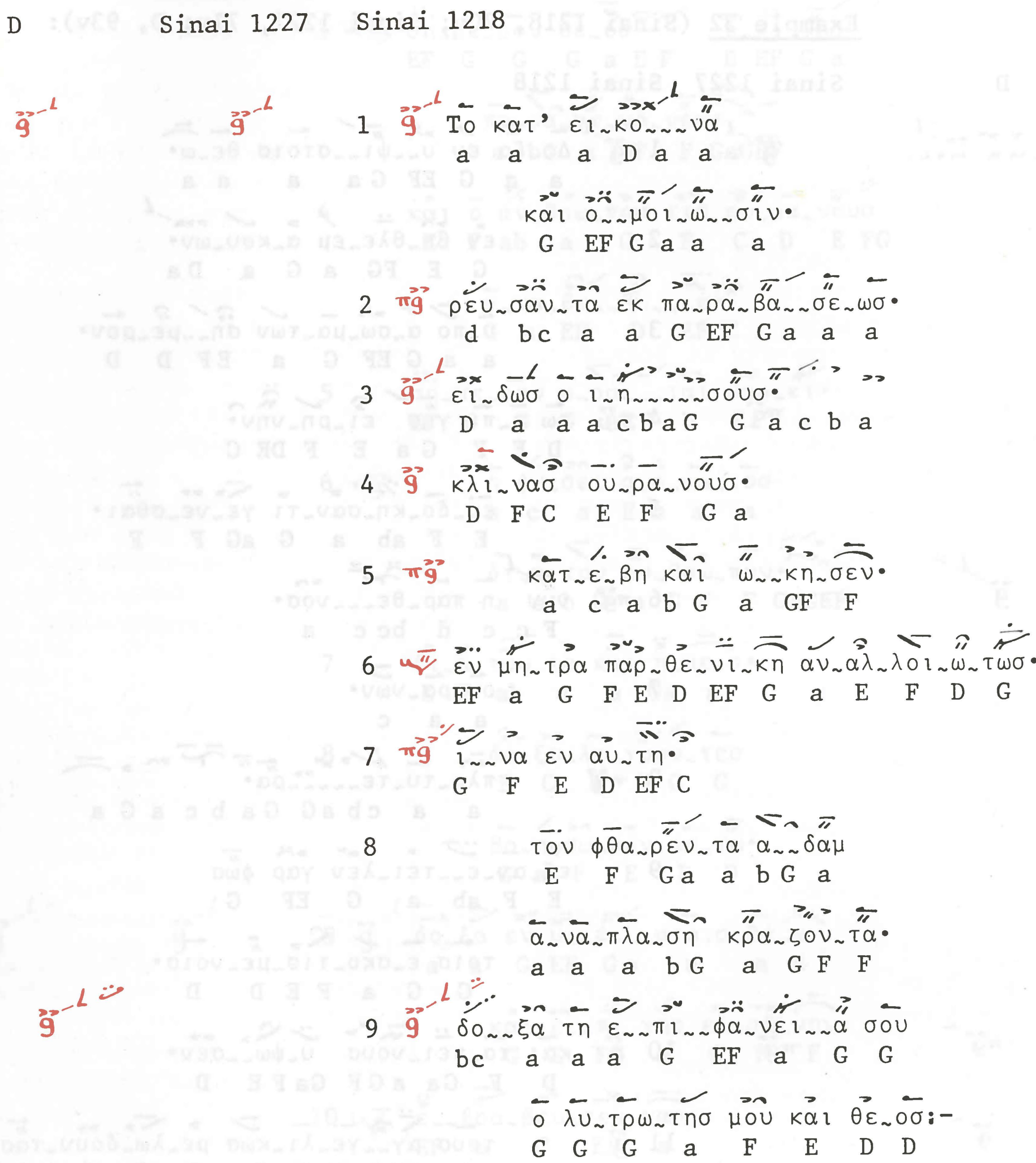
10 και τα‿πει‿νουσ υ‿ψω‿σεν·
D F Ga aGF GaFE D

11 τουσ αγ‿γε‿λι‿κωσ με‿λω‿δουν‿τασ·
D EF C E F a G aG F F

12 δο‿ξα εν υ‿ψι‿στοισ θε‿ω:-
d bc a EF Ga a a a

Notes to Example 32: The MeSi in Sinai 1218, line 6, does not make sense. In line 10 the Ison over -νουσ is my correction, based on the version in D (και τα-πει-νουσ; Sinai 1227 has και τα-πει-νουσ); Sinai 1218 gives Oligon instead of Ison.

Example 33 (Sinai 1218, 70v; Sinai 1227, 71v; D, 93v):



Notes to Example 33: In line 9 only the Oxeia (and, perhaps, one dot) can be seen in the confirmatory group . The Kentema and the Dyo Kentemata of the group on δο(ξα) are almost gone, but the reading - with the open tritonus! - is confirmed by D and Sinai 1227.

As for the first of the processional Stikhera, ʽΟ οὐρανὸσ καὶ ἡ γῆ σήμερον προφητικῶσ εὐφραινέσθωσαν, it is too long to be included among my examples[109]. In this Stikheron, too, the three MSS follow their usual habits: Sinai 1218 has 10 MeSi, in Sinai 1227 there are only 3, and D has 6 MeSi[110].

☆

A simple counting of MeSi in a number of MSS will give an idea of the spread of the main types of Stikheron-singing which were mentioned above, p.129. For that purpose I have chosen a very long Doxastikon (Example 34, see below, pp. 134-135), used εἰσ τοὺσ αἴνουσ on December 13 (Eustratios and companions)[111].

The figures of Example 34 (right column on p.135) can be compared with the following table which is taken from the collations of Ἔστησαν and its three Proshomoia (Appendix B); the table shows the total number of MeSi in these four hymns, listing the MSS in the same order as they are given in Example 34.

Total number of MeSi in Ἔστησαν and its three Proshomoia:

a		b		c		d		e	
1564:	21 MeSi	1492:	15 MeSi	1453:	9 MeSi	1224:	8 MeSi	1215:	7 MeSi
1585:	23	1225:	14	265:	5	1484:	10	1220:	0
1471:	20	1216:	16	D:	18	1221:	9	1223:	10
42:	17	1464:	12	1231:	13	883:	9	1228:	6
1218:	25	1230:	20			1227:	7	40:	4

Apart from Sinai 1453 and Paris Gr. 265 (in column c of the table), the MSS in columns a-c (with 15-29 MeSi in Example 34) have an average number of 3-6 MeSi per hymn in the four Ἔστησαν-Stikhera, whereas the MSS in

109. It can be seen in the facsimile edition of D (MMB I), fol.93r, and on plates XXI and XXIX in PETRESCO's book, from Paris gr. 261 and Coislin 41.

110. The variation of patterns in D - which in the first and third Stikheron has many MeSi but in the second and fourth (Examples 31 and 33) only one, before the oratio recta - is not unparallelled. For St. George's Day (April 23, D foll.138r sqq.) the processional Stikhera are provided with the following MeSi:

ʽΟ λαμπρὸσ ἀριστεύσ	0
Ἀριστείασ ἄθλων	3
Τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέωσ	0
Δεῦτε φιλομάρτυρεσ	4
Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη	0
Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων	2

The last two have the same melody and the same textual pattern. For examples of the different types of performance found in D, cf. below, pp.137-141.

111. There are no MeSi in Sinai 1229,52r and Sinai 1472,59r. The bad quality of my microfilms of Vatopedi 1499 and Patmos 219 makes it impossible to tell whether or not these two MSS provide the Doxastikon with MeSi. Cf. below, p.135, note 113.

Example 34, Occurrences of signatures in Τὴν πεντάχορδον λύραν[112]:

1 Τὴν πεντάχορδον λύραν 2 καὶ πεντάφωτον λυχνίαν
3 τῆσ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίασ
4 τοὺσ θεοφόρουσ μάρτυρασ 5 φερωνύμωσ ὑμνήσωμεν
6 καὶ εὐσεβῶσ ἐγκωμιάσωμεν.
7 Χαίροισ ὁ καλῶσ 8 ὑπὸ θεοῦ στρατευθεὶσ
9 ἐν τῇ ἐπουρανίῳ στρατιᾷ
10 καὶ τῷ στρατολογήσαντι ἀρέσασ
11 ὁ ἐν ῥήτορσι ῥήτωρ 12 Εὐστράτιε θεόσοφε.
13 Χαίροισ ὁ τὸ τάλαντον 14 τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ σοι πιστευθὲν
15 ἐπαυξήσασ εἰσ πλῆθοσ 16 Αὐξέντιε μακάριε.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Sinai 1564, 66v	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	
" 1585, 159	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+				+	
" 1471, 69r	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+			+	+	+	+
Coislin 42, 81v	+		+	+		+			+	+	+		+	+		
Sinai 1218, 59r	+	+	+	+		+	+			+	+		+	+		
Vatop.1492, 59v	+		+	+		+			+	+	+		+	+	+	
Sinai 1225, 61v	+	+	+	+		+	+		+		+		+			
" 1216, 62r	+	+		+		+	+			+	+		+		+	
" 1464, 65r	+		+	+		+	+		+				+	+		
" 1230, 65r	+			+		+	+			+	+		+		+	
" 1453, 60r	+			+		+	+		+	+			+	+		
Paris 265, 58r	+		+	+		+			+	+			+	+	+	
D, 79v	+	+	+	+			+			+	+		+		+	
Sinai 1231, 51v	+			+		+	+			+			+		+	
Sinai 1224, 60r	+			+		+				+	+		+			
" 1484, 54r	+			+		+				+			+			
" 1221, 81v	+						+			+	+		+		+	
Athens 883, 80r	+			+									+		+	
Sinai 1227, 61r	+			+			+						+			
" 1215, 51r	+		?						?				?			
" 1220, 54r	+		+			+	+		+							
" 1223, 76r	+												?		+	
" 1228, 50v	+															
Coislin 40, 41r	+															
Total number:	24	7	12	17	1	16	14	0	11	15	11	0	20	8	12	1

112. To simplify matters, I have just indicated presence or absence of MeSi, not their actual forms. Neumes and transcription from Athens 883 and two Palæobyzantine MSS (Sinai 1214 and 1219) are given by TILLYARD in MMB Transcripta VII (Pent), pp.XIX-XXIII, covering lines 1-16 in my Example 34.

17 Χαίροισ ὁ τερπνότατοσ ὅρπηξ 18 τῆσ θεϊκῆσ εὐγενείασ
19 Εὐγένιε θεόφρον.
20 Χαίροισ ὁ ὡραῖοσ τῇ μορφῇ 21 τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ὑπέρκαλοσ
22 καὶ ἀμφοτεροδέξιοσ
23 ὁ ἐν τοῖσ θείοισ ὄρεσιν 24 ἐνδιαιτώμενοσ ὅλοσ
25 πανόλβιε Ὀρέστα.
26 Χαίροισ ὁ στίλβων 27 καὶ διαυγὴσ μαργαρίτησ
28 ὁ τὰσ βασάνουσ τὰσ πικρὰσ 29 χαρμονικῶσ ὑπομείνασ
30 Μαρδάριε ἀήττητε.
31 Χαίροισ 31b ὁ ἰσάριθμοσ χορὸσ 32 τῶν φρονίμων παρθένων
33 οὓσ καθικετεύσωμεν 34 πάσησ ὀργῆσ καὶ θλίψεωσ λυτρώσασθαι
35 καὶ τῆσ ἀφράστου ὑμῶν δόξησ 36 συμμετόχουσ ποιῆσαι
37 τοὺσ τὴν ἐτήσιον ὑμῶν 38 μνήμην γεραίροντασ:-

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	31b	32	33	34	35	36	37	total number of MeSi
1564	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	29
1585	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	27
1471	+		+	+	+	+			+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	27
42	+	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+			+	+			+	+		+	22
1218	+	+		+	+				+		+			+	+				+	+		+	20
1492	+	+	+	+			+		+			+			+					+		+	19
1225	+	+	+	+		+				+		+		+	+					+		+	19
1216	+	+					+					+	+			+	+	+	+	+			18
1464	+			+			+			+		+			+	+		+	+	+		+	18
1230	+			+		+	+			+		+			+			+		+		+	17
1453	+			+		+	+			+		+			+						+	+	16
265	+			+		+	+					+			+					+		+	16
D	+			+						+		+			+	+						+	15
1231	+		+	+			+			+		+			+					+		+	15
1224	+														+	+			+	+		+	11
1484				+		+	+								+					+		+	10
1221	+			+											+					+			9
883	+			+								+			+							+	8
1227	+			+								+			+							+	8
1215				+		?					?				+								7?
1220		+		+			+																6
1223	+			+											+								5?
1228	+			+											+								3
40	+			+																			2
Total	21	8	5	22	5	10	12	0	5	9	4	15	1	4	21	8	4	6	8	15	3	17	

columns d-e (with 2-11 MeSi in the Doxastikon) have less than 3 MeSi per hymn in the four Stikhera[113].

The provisional character of the picture that can be drawn from this comparison is too obvious to be com-

113. There are no MeSi in Sinai 1229, Sinai 1472, Vatopedi 1499, and Patmos 219. Cf. above, p.133, note 111.

mented upon. Only from a meticulous analysis of the habits of specific MSS (including a sound statistical treatment of the data) may we perhaps learn to understand the background and implications of the different usages.[114]

☆

Since the Dalassenos Stikherarion (D) is the only Round Stikherarion accessible in facsimile (MMB I), it is of some importance to understand its peculiarities. Now, few MSS are more irregular in their use of MeSi than D. The variety of performance types[115], suggested by the different ways in which MeSi are given in some parts of the MS, is sharply contrasted by a total lack of MeSi on many folios, especially in the Menologion[116]. There can be no doubt that this uneven distribution of MeSi in D is in principle a codicological problem. The absence of MeSi must be due to the process of copying. It does not imply that Dalassenos intended the Stikhera on these folios to be sung in a different way from that which is indicated by the MeSi in the other parts of the MS. This explanation is based on the following kind of evidence:

(a) The sudden stop of MeSi from fol. 97r takes place at the beginning of a new gathering (gathering 13 = foll. 97-103)[117].

(b) Similarly the MeSi stop on fol. 144r, at the beginning of gathering 19 (foll. 144-151). As shown below in Appendix A, p.179, the MSi on 134v-143v comprise the abbreviation of the word ἦχοσ (ἦ), whereas the MSi before and after normally consist only of letter-numerals + tail-neumes.

(c) From the beginning of the Triodion (185r; beginning of gathering 24) MeSi are again regularly indicated.

(d) There are no MeSi on the last 3 pages of gathering 26 (207v-208v); they reappear from the beginning of gathering 27 (209r).

It is not easy to see whether or not the present state of D did satisfy the needs of the locality for the use of which it was written. It could only have been really satisfactory if the MeSi were not considered of any importance for the singing. In that case we would like to know why Dalassenos and his fellow-rubricators[118] wasted so much time on writing MeSi that were of no practical use. And, if Dalassenos wanted his MS to be provided with MeSi from one end to the other, we are faced with two questions - both of which can only be answered hypothetically. Since the MeSi in D were part of the original rubrication work[119], we must ask why the writing of MeSi at times stops abruptly, to be resumed as abruptly later on. I have elsewhere tried to explain the genesis of D in terms of team-work,

114. There is one detail in the Ἔστησαν material which supports the validity of this provisional grouping. In the Proshomoia K and T, the syntactical structure of the last lines makes it very unlikely that MeSi will be put before line 8 in MSS that use medial intonations at syntactical breaks only. (For the texts, see above, p.59; cf. also p.61). In K the MeSi is only found in 1564, 42, and 1230; in T a MeSi is put before line 8 in 1564, 1585, 1471, 42, 1492, 1225, 1216, 1230, 1231, and 1215.

115. Cf. below, pp.137-141.

116. MeSi are only found on folios 1r-12v, 14r, 17r, 41v, 45v, 46v, 70r, 79v-96v, 134v-143v, 185r-207r, 209r-281r, 288v, 307r-321r.

117. The gatherings in D are highly irregular. During my stay in Vienna in 1958 I was able to analyse their composition.

118. Cf. below, Appendix A, pp.168-169.

119. Cf. below, Appendix A, p.175.

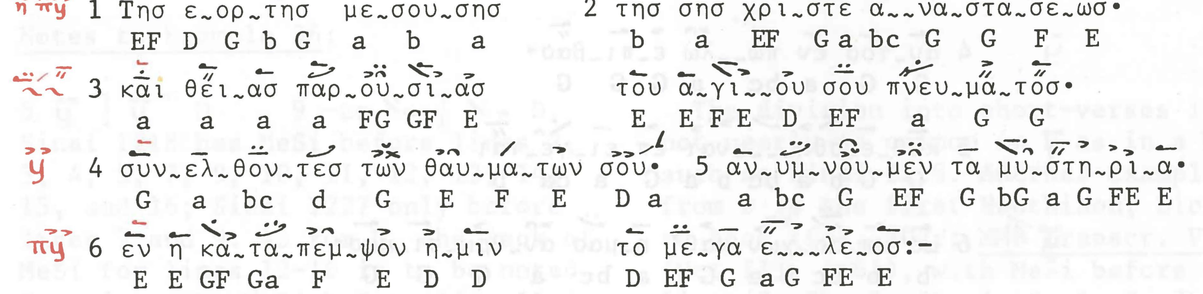
done in a scriptorium from more than one model MS[120]. This hypothesis would also provide an explanation of the uneven distribution of the MeSi in the present, unfinished, state of the MS. As for the other question - why Dalassenos never gave his MS its final touch - this cannot, of course, be answered definitely, since there are any number of possible explanations. Unfinished MSS are frequently found!

The value of the above considerations does not lie in the answers; they are hypothetical, and it even seems impossible to decide which line of reasoning to follow[121]. But all our hypotheses do imply that the MeSi in D were taken from a model MS, thereby reflecting the situation in a really old Stikherarion in Round notation[122].

On the strength of the above explanation we infer that the uneven distribution of MeSi in D does not necessarily mean that the MeSi, when found, are carelessly put and therefore unreliable. This is of course not tantamount to postulating that the scribe(s) of D did not make errors in writing the MeSi; the commentaries in the MMB Transcripta volumes frequently and rightly complain about the inaccuracy of D[123]. But even if details in D are open to criticism, the MS is well suited to illustrate the fact that different types of MeInt-singing have existed side by side.

In Examples 35-38 the main types are shown:

Example 35 (D, 260r; Sinai 1218, 219r; Sinai 1227, 217v; MMB Transcr.VII,p.51):



120. See below, pp. 138 (note 124) and 167 sqq. (Appendix A).

121. A parallel case: In the Stikherarion Ohrid 57 (inv.62) two kinds of red ink are used for rubrication (A and B). On pp.1-282 we find ink A and many MeSi. From p.283 (a verso, inside a gathering) ink B and no MeSi. From p. 416 (beginning of Oktoechos) ink A and MeSi. From p.426 ink B and no MeSi. Finally, from p.429 ink A is used for the initial letters, ink B for the MSi; there are no MeSi. Does all this mean: two rubricators with different ideas? Or again: two model MSS?

122. This model must be earlier than A.D.1217 or 1221, the date of D (cf. MMB I, Introduction, pp.17 and 24). For the MeSi in the model of D, cf. above, p.14, and below, p.138, note 124.

123. See e. g. below, p.138. Cf. also the introduction to the facsimile edition, pp.21-22: "La conclusion générale de cet examen est que le copiste a calqué son modèle scrupuleusement et servilement sans trop se soucier du sens". In a way, this makes D a far better witness for the tradition.

Notes to Example 35: Sinai 1218 and Sinai 1227 have the same MeSi as D; besides, Sinai 1218 has two mid-verse signatures, in line 3 a πÿ before τοῦ ἁγίου and before line 5 a nenano.

Other examples from D: Σπήλαιον εὐτρεπίζου (88v), Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου (92v), Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται (95r), Τῷ ἕκτῳ μηνί (134v), Μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν (253r; MMB Transcr. VII, p.11), Τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων (254r; Transcr. VII, p.13), Μυροφόροι γυναῖκεσ (255r; reproduced above, p.65, as Example 4), Παράδοξα σήμερον (273r; Transcr. VII, p.135).

The Μυροφόροι γυναῖκεσ (255r) is a curious example of the inaccuracy which I mentioned above, p.137. In the text there is a dittography (προσπροσηλθετε), the neumes on ὁ ἄγγελοσ are not correct - and as to the MeSi, one of them is unfinished ([neume] for ÿ) and the other incorrect (ÿ for ÿ). As a witness of this particular type of performance in this particular hymn, the faulty MS D is, however, as good as any correct MS[124].

Example 36 (D, 321r; Sinai 1218, 270v; Sinai 1227, 262v; MMB Transcripta V (Oct II), p.57):

1 Ο σε‿ρα‿φιμ τοισ α‿νω φο‿βε‿ροσ·
G G G G G a F# E D D

2 χρι‿στε επ‿‿ο‿χου‿με‿‿νοσ
G b a bc ba G a ca b

3 ωσ θε‿οσ τε και των ο‿‿λων αυτ‿ουρ‿γοσ·
b b bc ba G a bc a G G G

4 αυ‿τοσ εν πω‿‿λω ε‿πι‿βασ·
G G a bc a G G G

5 καθ‿ε‿σθη‿‿‿‿ναι επ‿ει‿γε‿ται
G G b a bc b a G a ca b

6 ωσ υπ‿αρ‿χων καθ' η‿μασ αν‿θρω‿πι‿κωσ·
b b bc b a G a bc a G G G

7 η βη‿θα‿νι‿‿‿α α‿‿‿γαλ‿λε‿ται
c c d bccb a ca b a G

8 εισ‿δε‿χο‿με‿νη σε σω‿τηρ·
G G a bc a G G G

124. The confirmatory neumes after the first MeSi ([neume]) do not correspond to the neumation of D ([neume]) but would fit a version like the one transcribed by TILLYARD in MMB Transcripta VII (Pent), p.29, from the Cardiff Stikherarion. This detail seems to support the hypothesis that the MeSi in D were not taken from the same model as text and melody, but were sought in another model (whose melodic tradition is also reflected in the variants added at the same time as the MeSi (cf. above, p.29, note 10).

9 ι‿ε‿ρο‿σο‿‿‿λυ‿μα χαι‿ρου‿σιν·
c c d bccb a ca b a G

10 ωσ προσ‿δο‿κουν‿τα σε λα‿βειν·
G G a bc a G G G

11 θα‿‿‿να‿τοσ πε‿πτω‿κεν
GGFE F G a F E D

12 προ‿αι‿στο‿με‿νοσ τον λα‿ζα‿ρον φοι‿ταν εκ των νε‿‿‿κρων
G a bc ba G a b a G a bc b a bc G a

13 και η‿‿μιν με‿λω‿‿δι‿ασ
a bc d d Ga a G

14 προσ υπ‿αν‿την τε‿λουν‿τεσ εν χα‿‿‿ρα·
G G a bc a c b a bcG a

15 αν‿υμ‿νουν‿τεσ το κρα‿τοσ·
a bc d d Ga a G

16 τησ α‿γα‿θο‿τη‿τοσ σου κυ‿‿‿ρι‿ε:-
c c c b a a d bccba G G a b c b a G

Notes to Example 36:

5 ÿ] ÿ D 9 -μα] D. Sinai 1218 has MeSi before lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16; Sinai 1227 only before lines 7 and 9. As for D, the lack of MeSi for lines 12-16 is to be noted. But since the MeSi before line 11 is the last one in the MS[125], the omission is probably due to the unfinished state of the MS and cannot be cited in support of a special type of performance; the intended setting of D (i.e. that of its model) is a clear example of a division into short-verses.

The division into short-verses is not nearly as common in D as in a MS such as Sinai 1218. Another example from D is the first Heothinon, Εἰσ τὸ ὄροσ (fol. 307r; MMB Transcr. V (Oct II), p.61), with MeSi before lines 2, 2b, 3, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7b, 8b, 9, and 9b.

125. Cf. above, p.136, note 116.

Example 37 (D, 260v; Sinai 1218, 219v; Sinai 1227, 218r; MMB Transcr. VII (Pent), p. 54):

πλ δ
1 Καθαρθῶμεν ἐννοιῶν τοὺς κευθμῶνας·
2 καὶ ψυχικὰς λαμπηδόνας διαυγάσωμεν·
3 καὶ τὴν ζωὴν κατίδωμεν Χριστόν·
4 ἐν ἱερῷ ἀφικόμενον·
5 ὑπερβολῇ ἀγαθότητος·
6 ἵνα τὸν ἐχθρὸν θριαμβεύσῃ
7 καὶ σώσῃ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν·
8 διὰ πάθους σταυροῦ
καὶ ἀναστάσεως·
9 πρὸς ὃν βοήσωμεν·
10 ἀκατάληπτε κύριε δόξα σοι:-

Notes to Example 37: Sinai 1218 has MeSi before lines 1b (τοὺς), 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10; Sinai 1227 before lines 5, 8, and 9. TILLYARD prints the versions from N (Round notation, 5 MeSi) and from the Chartres fragment (Chartres notation; the only MeSi is here the nana before line 9).

Among the parallel cases in D, the most interesting is Ἀνελήφθης ἐν δόξῃ (fol. 269v; MMB Transcr. VII (Pent), p.109) because of its 'refrain' which is the same as that of Example 37 (lines 12-14 identical with lines 9-10 of Example 37). Other examples in D:

Κύριε παράγων (263v; Transcr. VII, p.72) with πᵹ before line 25 διὸ βοῶμεν, and

Ἀνήλθες Χριστέ (264v; Transcr. VII, p.104) with ᵹ before line 7 μονογενῆ[126].

Cf. also Examples 31 and 33 (above, pp.130 and 132).

Example 38 (D, 274r; Sinai 1218, 230v; Sinai 1227, 229v; MMB Transcr. VII (Pent), p. 133):

ἦ ἃ β
1 Βα-σι-λεῦ οὐ-ρά--νι-ε
G G G FE DEF E E
2 πα-ρα-κλη--τέ
G b Gab b
τὸ πνεῦ-μα τῆς ἀ--λη-θεί-ας·
b cd b bc a ba G G
3 ὁ παν-τα-χοῦ παρ-ὼν
G G a b Ga a D
4 καὶ τὰ πάν-τα πλη-ρῶν·
EF G aG F E E
πᵹ
5 ὁ θη-σαυ-ρὸς τῶν ἀ-γα-θῶν
E E G F Ga F E D DE
6 καὶ ζω-ῆς χο-ρη-γὸς·
C EF a G aF G

126. TILLYARD's commentary ("6.fin. D Mart. falsa.") is misleading. D gives the following melody: ᵹ μο νο γε νη. The two Isons are to be combined with the MeSi, producing the melody D D FE Da, whereas the two Apostrophoi if counted from the preceding finalis give E D FE Da. We thus have again a MeSi in D which presupposes another melodic line than the one from which the melodies of D were copied (cf. above, p.138).

7 ἐλ-θὲ καὶ ἐν-σκη-νω-σον
b a G EF G a EF a
ἐν ἡ--μῖν·
G aF G
ᵹ
8 καὶ κα-θά-ρι-σον ἡ--μᾶς
G a bc b a Ga a
ἀ-πὸ πά-σης κη-λῖ-δος·
a a bc G F E E
πᵹ
9 καὶ σῶ--σον ἀ-γα-θὲ
GF Ga F E D EF a
τὰς ψυ--χὰς ἡ--μῶν:-
a b G a G FE E

Notes to Example 38:

2 πα- --] - D 6 καὶ ζωῆς] D has ; the other MSS, which end line 5 on , have (D EF a). It is impossible to emendate the false reading of D convincingly without consulting a greater number of MSS. But since it is not of any importance to find the 'right' correction of D just now, I have simply added a Kentema on ζω- (correcting into), to get the melody into pitch. Another possible solution would be to delete the Elaphron on καὶ (correcting into). But the error might as well be earlier, in line 5, either a real copyist's mistake or somehow connected with the cadence in line 5, being felt as the usual internal cadence of Plagios Deuteros (= EF). In the latter case the neumation in line 6 is not altogether to be rejected. Sinai 1218 has MeSi before lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 8b (before ἀπό), and 9; Sinai 1227 before lines 3, 5, 7, and 8.

This type, with one or a few 'syntactical' MeSi per Stikheron, is frequently found in D. A few examples:

Κύριε τὸ μυστήριον (266v; Transcr. VII, p.97), with MeSi before line 9 τὴν γάρ,

Οἱ νομοθέται (249r; Triod[r] p.693), with MeSi before μὴ πλανᾶσθε,

Ἰατροὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων (45v; MMB Transcripta II (Nov), p.10), with MeSi before line 5 τοὺς ἐν ἀνάγκαις and line 8 λυτρώσασθαι ἡμᾶς,

Ὁ συνάναρχος (261r; Transcr.VII, p.59) with MeSi before line 15 ἀληθῶς and line 22 δεῦτε.

☆

In a way, any of these would have been more typical than the Whitsunday Stikheron that I used as Example 38. My reason for preferring the Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε is the resemblance between D's setting and that of Sinai 1251, a kalophonic Stikherarion. The kalophonic Stikhera are frequently split up into sections called πόδες; the last ποὺς invariably ends with a short conclusion, sung ἀποχοροῦ, of which only the incipit may be given[127]. I have not been able to find descriptions and explanations of this ποὺς-system; but the way in which each ποὺς is normally signalized by an initial letter - and, sometimes, a clarifying rubric - shows that the division into πόδες corresponds to some actual feature of the performance.

Now, the πόδες of the kalophonic Stikhera quite often begin exactly where the non-kalophonic Stikheraria put their MeSi. The following survey

127. Example 24 (above, p.120) shows a kalophonic Stikheron with three πόδες and an ἀποχοροῦ-conclusion.

compares kalophonic Stikhera from Sinai 1234 and Sinai 1251 with the settings of D. There is no absolute identity - but identity could hardly be expected, since the kalophonic tradition is of course not based on that particular Stikherarion. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition may give a possible explanation of the type of performance exemplified in Example 38.

D, fol. 5r:	Sinai 1234, fol. 6v:
Νεον φυτον	Νεον φυτον ....
	Δια μαρτυριου ....
συν τοισ γονευσι	Συν τοισ γονευσι ....
	ων κοινωνουσ .... ἀποχοροῦ

D, 10r:	Sinai 1234, 10r:
Αυτη	Αυτη ....
ιδου γαρ	
και η κατα ανατολασ	Και η κατα ....
και μονον	Μονη και μονον ....
εισ την οικουμενην	εισ την .... ἀποχοροῦ

D, 10r:	Sinai 1234, 16v:
Ει και θειω	Ει και θειω ....
οτι και	Οτι και .... δεύτεροσ ποῦσ
η μονη	Η μονη ....
κεκλεισμενην	
πασιν	πασι .... ἀποχοροῦ

D, 10v:	Sinai 1234, 13v:
Σημερον στειρωτικαι	Σημερον στειρωτικαι ....
εμφανιζουσαν	Εμφανιζουσα .... β´ ποῦσ
τα επιγεια	
προσ σωτηριαν	προσ σωτηριαν .... ἀποχοροῦ

D, 89r:	Sinai 1234, 188v:
Ανυμφευτε παρθενε	Ανυμφευτε παρθενε ....
μεγαλων παραδοξων	Μεγαλων παραδοξων .... β´ ποῦσ
	Και μαγοι δε ....
	εισ δυσμασ .... ἀποχοροῦ

D, 274r:	Sinai 1251, 433r:
Βασιλευ ουρανιε	Βασιλευ ουρανιε ....
ο θησαυροσ	Ο θησαυροσ .... ὁ β´ ποῦσ
και καθαρισον	
και σωσον	και σωσον .... <ἀποχοροῦ>

D, 276v:	Sinai 1251, 437v:
Αγγελοι εν ουρανοισ	Αγγελοι εν ουρανοισ ....
τον γαρ χιτωνα	Τον γαρ χιτωνα ....
	δωρηθηναι .... <ἀποχοροῦ>

In connection with Examples 23 and 25 I have shown that MeSi at times seem to be used when a fresh attack of a choir takes place; in such cases there would be no real difference between MeSi and MSi[128]. As long as we do not know more about the πόδεσ of kalophonic Stikhera, the parallels from non-kalophonic Stikheraria do not allow any conclusive interpretation; we can only suggest that some common pattern of performance lies behind the kalophonic and non-kalophonic settings described above, pp. 141 sqq.

Equally stimulating for further investigations is the detailed description of the performance of an Exaposteilarion, found in Paris Gr. 353 (Example 39). Since the melodies of the Exaposteilaria are usually part of oral tradition, the melody is unknown[129].

128. Cf. above, pp.121 and 124.

129. In Sinai 1259,155v, the Exaposteilarion has a melody; but since the mode is not the same as that indicated in the Paris MS, this melody is probably not the one which the scribe of the Paris MS had in mind. The melody in Sinai 1259 is not provided with MeSi.

Example 39. Exaposteilarion, Holy Thursday (Paris gr. 353, fol. 164r):

ηχ πλ δ Τον νυμφωνα σου βλεπω σ͞ω͞ρ μου κεκοσμημενον· και ενδυμα ουκ εχω· ινα εισελθω· λάμπρυνόν μου τὴν στολὴν τῆσ ψυχῆσ φωτοδότα και σῶσον με:-

"Οπερ ψάλλεται παρὰ τοῦ ψάλτου ἅπαξ· εἶτα παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ· καὶ πάλιν ὁ ψάλτησ τὸ τέλοσ: λάμπρυνόν μου τὴν στολὴν καὶ ὁ λαὸσ τὸ ὅλον· εἰθοῦτωσ ὁ ψάλτησ ἀπάρχεται αὐτ(ῆσ)· καὶ ὁ λαὸσ, ἀπὸ τῆσ μέσησ· εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνει ὁ ψάλτησ τὸ τέλοσ καὶ τελειοῖ:

The rubric thus describes how the Psaltes and the congregation divided the singing:

1 ὁ ψάλτησ: Τὸν - με
2 ὁ λαὸσ: Τὸν - με
3 ὁ ψάλτησ: λάμπρυνόν - με
4 ὁ λαὸσ: Τὸν - με
5 ὁ ψάλτησ: Τὸν - κεκοσμημένον
6 ὁ λαὸσ: καὶ ἔνδυμα - εἰσέλθω
7 ὁ ψάλτησ: λάμπρυνόν - με.

All these attacks would have to be prepared by intonations, sung by the Domestikos[130]. To indicate these, two MeSi would be needed: one before καὶ ἔνδυμα, the other before λάμπρυνον. By inserting these MeSi we would get a result which would in no way differ from that in which a good many Stikhera are commonly presented, e. g. those mentioned above, p.141.

✡

Even though the Stikheraria usually indicate medial intonations by means of the corresponding MeSi, full MeInt are occasionally given. As regards such occasional MeInt, several possibilities must be considered:

In some MSS they occur in a decidedly haphazard way which makes it most unlikely that these stray MeInt are anything but unintentional graphical variants[131].

In other MSS the variation between MeInt and MeSi appears to be less haphazard, although it seems impossible to give one explanation that will cover all occurrences. The following two examples, both taken from E.α.IV, a 13th cent. Stikherarion, are perfectly understandable if the variation between MeInt and MeSi is taken to mean two alternative ways of performance[132]. Performed with all the intonations indicated by MeSi and MeInt, these Stikhera resemble the type which we have met in Examples 33, 35, 36, etc.; but if intonations are only sung at the places where MeInt are given, we would be facing exact parallels to Examples 37, 38, etc.

130. Cf. above, p.66.
131. Cf. above, p.55.

132. A number of parallel cases could be produced from the same MS.

Example 40 (E.α.IV, fol.2v; cf. MMB Transcripta I (Sept), p.11):

Δ Αι πορειαι σου ο θεοσ

Δ αι πορειαι σου μεγαλαι και θαυμασται·

Δ διο·

πα τησ οικονομιασ σου τασ δυναστειασ·

μεγαλυνομεν

πα οτι φωσ εκ φωτοσ·

επεδημησασ εισ ταλαιπωρον κοσμον σου·

Δ και την πρωτην ανειλεσ αραν·

του παλαιου αδαμ

α ωσ ηυδοκησασ λογε·

και ημιν εν σοφια καιρουσ και χρονουσ υπεθου·

ανεανε του δοξαζειν·

πα την παντουργικην σου αγαθοτητα

κυριε δοξα σοι:-

Example 41 (E.α.IV, fol.17v; cf. MMB Transcripta I (Sept), p.74):

πβ Ο τετραπερατοσ κοσμοσ αανε σημερον αγιαζεται·

του τετραμερουσ υψουμενου σου σταυρου· χριστε ο θεοσ ημων·

και το κερασ των πιστων· ϋ συνυψουται βασιλεων ημων·

ϋ εν αυτω των δυσμενων ϋ συντριβεντων τα κερατα

μεγασ ει· κυριε·

ϋ και θαυμαστοσ εν τοισ εργοισ σου δοξα σοι:-

Elaborate MeInt are sometimes given in pieces of special importance, frequently in Doxastika of major feasts. Thus, Paris Gr. 265 has one isolated long MeInt, in the Vesper Doxastikon for November 8, Ὡσ ταξιάρχησ - perhaps revealing by this detail that the MS was intended

for the use of a church or a monastery dedicated to St. Michael[133].

☆

An extreme case is the special treatment which the 13th century Stikherarion Coislin 41 gives the principal Doxastika[134]. These Doxastika are amply furnished with MeInt; both elaborate and short standard forms are found[135]. One of them (Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται, fol. 67r-67v) is reproduced on plates XXX-XXXI of PETRESCO's Les Idiomeles... Even from the reproduction it can be seen that the words of the Doxastikon are provided with some sort of 'yellow wash', and when the original MS is seen from a definite angle, the yellow wash shines like glass; these horizontal shining strokes were probably made by albumen[136]. The 'albumen wash' is only found in connection with Doxastika for major feasts, precisely those that have got MeInt[137]. It can only be understood as a calligraphical device, intended to give extra splendour to the written text of these particular Doxastika. Whether the same explanation is also valid as far as the MeInt is concerned, remains a matter of opinion. At any rate, MeInt and 'albumen washed' texts are inseparable companions in Coislin 41.

It cannot be denied that the data of Coislin 41 are most perplexing[138]. Two approaches towards an understanding of their implications recommend themselves, but it will soon be evident that they far from lead to the same result:

A. Some of the Doxastika listed in footnote 137 are provided with more or less elaborate MeInt also in other (later) sources. Thus, e.g.
Σήμερον γεννᾶται in Sinai 1230, 75v and Sinai 1504, 245r;
Σήμερον κρεμᾶται in Sinai 1230, 234v and Sinai 1244, 193r;
Σήμερον ὁ ἀπρόσιτοσ in E.α.V, 52v;
Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεέμ in Sinai 1259, 158r;
Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Ιορδάνῃ in Sinai 1234, 223v sqq.[139].

An exceptional performance of the Σήμερον γεννᾶται has survived to the present day, as described in the modern Typikon and in the Menaion (Roman edition, vol. II, 646); the musical setting by the Protopsaltes James († A. D. 1800) can be seen in the Doxastarion[140].

133. Paris gr. 265, 39v; cf. MMB Transcripta II (Nov), pp.59-61. The MeInt is found before line 7, ἐναργῶσ.

134. According to L. POLITIS (Byzantinische Zeitschrift 51, 1958, pp.269-270) the subscription is dated A. D. 1244.

135. Cf. PETRESCO, Les idiomeles et le canon de l'office de Noël, p.26.

136. Cf. also PETRESCO, plate XXIX, where the first line on fol.65v is treated in the same way; this line is the end of another Christmas Doxastikon, the Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου.

137. Σήμερον γεννᾶται (65r, Christmas),
Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεέμ (67r, Christmas),
Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ (81r, Epiphany),
Προτυπῶν (134r, Transfiguration),
Τῇ ἀθανάτῳ (138r, Dormition of the Virgin),
Σήμερον ὁ ἀπρόσιτοσ (170r, Adoration of the Cross),
Πρὸ ἓξ ἡμερῶν (187v, Palm Sunday),
Σήμερον κρεμᾶται (208v, Good Friday),
Ἀναστάσεωσ ἡμέρα (212r, Easter Day),
Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε (230r, Whitsunday).

138. Cf. above, pp. 106-107 about parallel phenomena in Slavonic MSS. The aporia is equally unpleasant in both areas.

139. For the last two, cf. above, p.80.

140. For instance the Δοξαστάριον Πέτρου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, ἐκδιδ. ὑπὸ Π. Γ. ΚΗΛΤΖΑΝΙΔΟΥ ΠΡΟΥΣΑΕΩΣ, Constantinople 1882, pp.347-352.

The inevitable conclusion is that the Doxastika in question have traditionally been treated in a special way with a view to festive performance, and that the tradition of this special festivitas has outlived the different melodies to which the pieces have been sung. In this picture the settings of Coislin 41 will only find their natural place if they really differed from 'normal' Doxastika and other Idiomela as given in the same MS.

Now, as was already shown by PETRESCO, some of the Doxastika are provided with elaborate MeInt - thereby being set off from their surroundings, for which the MeSi would only indicate standard intonations to be sung. But, since the MeInt to Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ (PETRESCO plates XXX-XXXI) are only standard intonations, they would not lend any festivity to this particular Doxastikon for Christmas unless the other Idiomela for Christmas were not sung with medial intonations, that is to say unless the MeSi in the other pieces on plates XXIX-XXXIII were not meant as symbols for the corresponding intonations.

B. If we maintain the basic idea of the present book about the MeSi as symbols for sung medial intonations[141], the Doxastikon on PETRESCO's plates XXX-XXXI with its standard MeInt will not be sufficiently thrown into relief - the full MeInt on plates XXX-XXXI being reduced to a graphical variation of minor importance[142]. Thereby the connection between the settings of Coislin 41 and those of later sources would tend to disappear.

Thus the MeInt of Coislin 41, especially the simple standard forms, are admittedly more strange than they seem to be at first sight. But their significance must not be overestimated. In fact, a variety of reasons could easily be found to account for the conflicting material that I have just put forward. I shall refrain from proposing any on account of the purely hypothetical nature such reasons must necessarily have at our present state of knowledge. For the moment, the use of MeInt in Coislin 41 remains a puzzling detail in the picture - but it is fortunately only a detail and cannot affect the general interpretation of the MeSi as symbols for sung intonations[143].

Signatures and Intonations in Late Round and Chrysanthine Tradition.

I have now described how the system of signatures and intonations developed and changed during the Middle Ages. To complete the picture the post-medieval development should also be considered. In doing so, I shall concentrate upon a few of the most radical changes, leaving the details to be filled out by specialists of Neobyzantine church music[144].

In the modern signatures (μαρτυρίαι) the medieval forms are still recognizable. After CHRYSANTHOS's reform (early 19th century) a complete signature comprised two elements, the first letter of one of the solmisation syllables[145] plus "ἓν χαρακτηριστικὸν σημεῖον" (PANAGIOTOPOULOS,

141. At least as early as A. D. 1244, the date of Coislin 41 (cf. above, p.146, note 134).

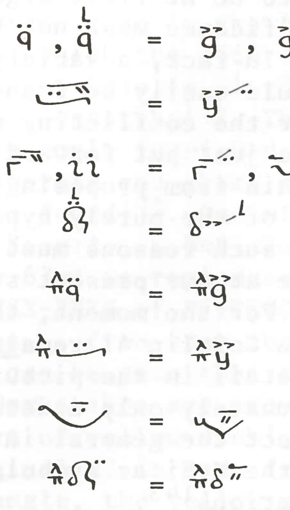
142. Cf. above, p.146.

143. Cf. above, pp.55-64.

144. My principal source for the usages of our own time is the clear and instructive manual of PANAGIOTOPOULOS (see above, p.4, note 28); the modes are described in his chapters 12-19 (pp.178-238).

145. πα βου γα δι κε ζω νη.

p.52). These "characteristic signs" are derived from the medieval signatures, as seen from the following table:



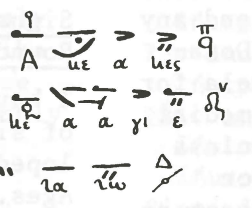
From the descriptions by PANAGIOTOPOULOS it is evident that these symbols are no longer understood as combinations of neumes and letter-numerals. Thus, the q is identified with the ἡμίφι[146] and the stylized Delta is explained as follows: Τὸ δὲ μαρτυρικὸν σημεῖον [sign] οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι, παρὰ συνδυασμὸσ τῶν γραμμάτων Δ καὶ ι· ἑπομένωσ παριστᾷ τὸν φθόγγον Δι[147]. It should also be noted that the ¨ is used not only for Dyo Apostrophoi, but also in the Barys signature for Diple; from the nana I infer that it has become a conventional sign devoid of any meaning whatsoever[148].

Of the intonations (ἠχήματα) a few have preserved their medieval shape, such as

Plagios Protos (DFED)[149]

Plagios Tetartos (CDDCC)[150]

Nenano (DEFG)[151]



These are exceptions, however. Usually the shapes have changed completely. Modern Greek theory is aware that a radical change has taken place; both CHRYSANTHOS's <u>Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆσ μουσικῆσ</u> (1832) and PANAGIOTOPOULOS's manual from 1947 constantly contrast the tradition κατὰ τοὺσ νεωτέρουσ with the tradition κατὰ τοὺσ παλαιοῦσ. As to the intonations κατὰ τοὺσ παλαιοῦσ, CHRYSANTHOS, of course, still knows the medieval standard intonations[152]. These simple forms are, however, graphical short forms - according to CHRYSANTHOS; their true melodies have been saved by oral tradition, and are given by CHRYSANTHOS in his own notational system.

Since CHRYSANTHOS's <u>Θεωρητικὸν μέγα</u> is not easily accessible, I shall reproduce one of his paragraphs, on the intonations of the First Mode (§ 309, p.137):

146. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.111, note 12 and p. 172, note 3.

147. ibid., p.196, note 2.

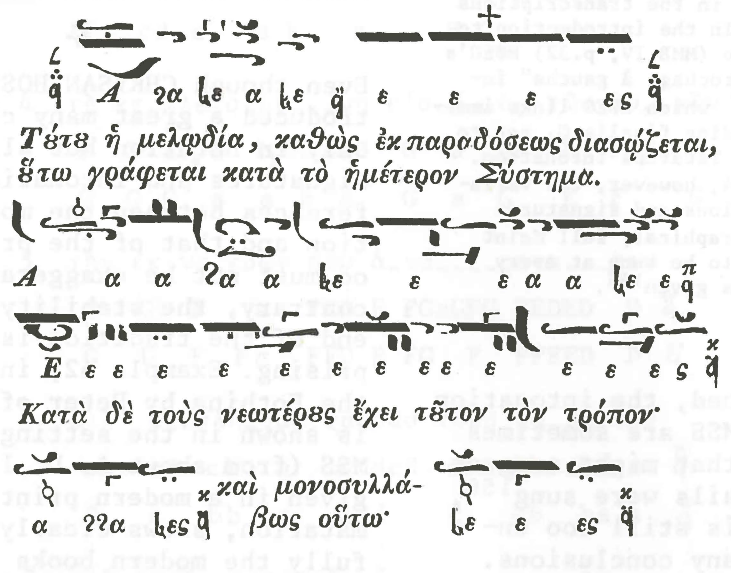
148. The ¨ was not introduced at the reform, but can be found already in MSS from the 18th century, if not earlier.

149. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.206.

150. ibid., p.229.

151. ibid., p.213. For the F-sharp, cf. the diagram ibid., p.214.

152. CHRYSANTHOS, pp.137-142.



§. 309. Τῦ μὲν Πρώτε ἤχε τὸ Ἀπήχημα παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ψαλμῳδῶν ἕτως ἐγράφετο.

Τὅτε ἡ μελῳδία, καθὼς ἐκ παραδόσεως διασῴζεται, ἕτω γράφεται κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον Σύστημα.

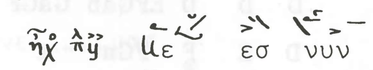
Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἔχει τἕτον τὸν τρόπον· καὶ μονοσυλλάβως οὕτω·

CHRYSANTHOS's descriptions are used by J. B. REBOURS in his <u>Traité de Psaltique</u>, 1906 (pp.279-286), but since REBOURS usually omits CHRYSANTHOS's rendering of the oral tradition of the old intonations, a certain confusion may easily arise for the scholar who has no access to CHRYSANTHOS's own book, the more so since PANAGIOTOPOULOS does not mention the old 'graphical forms' - i.e. the medieval standard intonations as given by CHRYSANTHOS - but only CHRYSANTHOS's information about the elaborate forms of the oral tradition.

☆

One element of modern intonation practice, the so-called monosyllabic intonations, is of some interest for the present book. These monosyllabics are mentioned as alternative forms by CHRYSANTHOS and in PANAGIOTOPOULOS's manual, with melodies varying from a simple [neume][153] to elaborate forms with 10 notes or more[154]. They are invariably sung to the syllable ꙋε (or ꙋεσ).

An example from an Anthology in my possession (18th century; written by Ἰωάσαφ μοναχὸσ Παντοκρατορινὸσ) illustrates the pre-Chrysanthine monosyllabics:



ε σ ν υ ν α ι δ υ ν α μ ε ι σ..
E F E E DED......

(181v, ascribed to Peter from Peloponnesos).

As for modern examples, these are easily found, e. g. in the <u>Pandektes</u>.

The origin of these monosyllabic intonations is not known. The use of the same syllable (ꙋεσ) in the medieval intonation tails points towards some connection - suggesting, perhaps, an intermediate state of intonation singing in which only the <u>tails</u> were sung.

153. Plagios Deuteros; PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.213.

154. Cf. the <u>Legetos</u> intonation κατὰ τὸν πρωτοψάλτην Ἰάκωβον, quoted by PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.197.

This idea is tentatively expressed by WELLESZ in his introduction to the Akathistos volume (MMB Transcripta IX, p.LXVII,8) and is put into practice in the transcriptions in the same volume. In the introduction to the facsimile edition (MMB IV, p.32) HØEG's description of "raccrochage à gauche" includes the MeSi ὸδ~ which HØEG links immediately to the preceding finalis G, not to the G of the Plagios Tetartos intonation. For the Ashburnham 64, however, the variation between intonations and signatures seems to be purely graphical; full MeInt were no doubt meant to be sung at every place where a MeSi is given[155].

As already mentioned, the intonation tails in earlier MSS are sometimes written in a way that might suggest that only these tails were sung[156], but the evidence is still too unclear to warrant any conclusions. I should like to point out, however, that similar monosyllabics are also used in Greek folk songs, both as initial 'intonations' and medially[157].

✡

Even though CHRYSANTHOS's reform introduced a great many changes, not only in notation but also as regards signatures and intonations, the differences between the modern tradition and that of the preceding period must not be exaggerated. On the contrary, the stability of this late end of the tradition is really surprising. Example 42, in which one of the Eothina by Peter of Peloponnesos is shown in the setting of one of my MSS (from about A. D. 1800) and as given in a modern printed Anastasimatarion, shows clearly how faithfully the modern books preserve the traditional signatures[158]:

Example 42 (my MS, fol. 102r; Anastasimatarion 1914, p. 436; numbering of lines from MMB Transcripta V (Oct II), pp. 78-79):

1 Ὡσ ἐπ' ἐ~σχά~~~των τῶν χρό~~~νων
ed: Πα D D D EFGab GaGF EFE FGFE ED
MS: D E F FGa a G G b a

οὔ~σησ ὀ~ψί~ασ σαβ~βά~~~των
ed: F E F Ga aba Ga abba a
MS: b a G a G E G G

2 ἐφ~ί~~~στα~σαι τοῖσ φί~~~~λοισ Χρι~στέ
ed: a abc aG G D GGaGF FGF DED D
MS: G a GG F DE FG F FE EED DD

155. Cf. above, pp.33 and 55.

156. For a 15th century example, see above, p.80. note 19.

157. Cf. e.g. S. BAUD-BOVY, Chansons du Dodécanese I, Athenes 1935, passim. For these 'intonations' all kinds of syllables are used, including the Νε.

158. Ἀναστασιματάριον νέον, ἀργὸν καὶ σύντομον..... μελοποιηθὲν ὑπὸ Πέτρου Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου καὶ Ἰωάννου Πρωτοψάλτου... 10th edition, Constantinople 1914.

3 καὶ θαύ~μα~τι θαῦ~μα βε~βαι~οῖσ
ed: ab cd cb a bcb abaG GF GaG a
MS: a cd c a b a F G a

4 τῇ κε~κλεισ~μέ~~~νη εἴσ~ό~~δῳ τῶν θυ~~ρῶν
ed: F G ab♭ a b♭cb♭aaG G a GF E FGF G
MS: G G G a a b a G a G E F G

5 τὴν ἐκ νε~κρῶν σου ἀ~νά~~~~~στα~~~σιν
ed: G G F a FED E FGaGFG FEDED D
MS: G G F Fa FED E FG F FFEED D

6 ἀλλ' ἔ~~πλη~σασ χα~ρᾶσ τοὺσ μα~θη~τάσ
ed: ab cd cb a a dcd cbc cdc aba a
MS: D c bb a a d c cb ba a

7 καὶ πνεύ~μα~τοσ ἀ~γί~~~~~~~~~~~~~ου
ed: a bc ba G a b♭ a b♭ a b♭ a b♭ a
MS: a abc b G F a G

μετ~έ~~~δω~κασ αὐ~~τοῖσ
ed: G aGF FG FGF DED D
MS: G a F FE ED D

8 καὶ ἐξ~ου~σί~αν ἔ~~~~~~~νει~~~~~μασ
ed: D E FG a GF G cbcd cbaba a
MS: D E F a GF G abc cb ba a

ἀφ~έ~~~σε~ωσ ἁ~~~~μαρ~~~τι~~~~~ῶν
ed: G aba G G F♯G F♯G F♯ D E♭D D
MS: G a G G F F E ED D

9 καὶ τὸν Θω~μᾶν οὐ κατ~έ~~~~~~~λι~~~~~~~πεσ
ed: D E F Ga aba GF G abcd cdcbaba a
MS: D E F a a GF G abc c b ba a

10 τῷ τῆσ ἀ~πι~~στί~~~~~~~~~~~ασ κα~~τα~βαπ~
ed: aab♭ aG♯ a b♭ c♯b♭ d c♯b♭ a a G G F♯
MS: G F G a a b G G G F

τί‿‿ζε‿‿‿σθαι κλύ‿‿‿‿‿‿δω‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿νι

ed: G F♯ E♭ D GGaGF♯ F♯ E♭ D E♭D D

MS: Fa F E D DE EFGF F E ED D

11 δι‿ὸ παρά‿σχου καὶ ἡ‿‿‿μῖν

ed: D abbccdcbbaGa b cd cb ba bcb cdc

MS: D a b cd cc aG a c

γνῶ‿‿‿σιν ἁ‿‿‿‿‿‿λη‿‿‿‿‿‿θῆ

ed: cdc a bcdc cbaba a

MS: c?c? a b dc cb ba a

12 καὶ ἄφ‿‿‿ε‿‿σιν πταισ‿μά‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿των

ed: ab cd cb aab G abcbdddcbd baGa

MS: GaGF EFG a a F FFE ED D

εὔ‿‿σπλαγχ‿νε κύ‿‿‿‿‿ρι‿‿‿‿ε.

ed: bcc cb a bcbaG FE? G

MS: a FGa aa b aG F Gba

Apart from lines 1 and 12 and the beginning of line 10, the two melodies are in principle identical, although the new version is more florid than the older one[159].

The identity of MeSi after lines 2, 5, 6, 7, 8a, 8b, 9, and 11 means that the prevailing use of retrospective MeSi[160] is not an invention of CHRYSANTHOS's but part of the tradition carried on through the reform.

In the printed Anastasimatarion a short change into the enharmonic scale[161] is indicated in the melisma of line 7 (introduced by the enharmonic Phthora, dissolved by the diatonic Phthora). More interesting are the two chromatic passages (lines 8b and 10), since these are not only signalized by chromatic Phthorai but also 'confirmed' by the signatures that follow.

In the pre-Chrysanthine MS there is nothing to suggest that line 10 was not diatonic; if it was not, this fact must have been remembered by oral tradition[162]. As to line 8, the MS has a nenano-Phthora on G and a Deuteros MeSi on D. Obviously these

159. This is a constant feature, not restricted to the melismata of lines 7 and 11.

160. See above, p.75.

161. Cf. above, p.10.

162. The absence of Phthorai or MeSi in line 10 may, of course, also be a simple scribal error.

two signs are used "ἀπὸ μέλους" - and it is easy to see that their implications suggest a melody akin to (or identical with) that of the later Anastasimatarion. It should be noted, however, that neither of the signs has its full implications if the medieval forms are considered.

The medieval nenano, usually understood as E F G a, would equal D E-flat F-natural G, and the intonation that corresponds to the signature, usually understood as b a G, would equal F-sharp E D.

✧

Modern theory is quite clear in its statement that the signatures are not sung[163]. A fundamental change has thus taken place since the period in which not only the MSi but also the MeSi stood for sung intonations. It is not possible to ascribe the change to one single cause[164], nor to follow its phases in any detail.

The gradual disappearance of sung medial intonations is a particularly evasive phenomenon. In my opinion this is due to the very elasticity of the medieval system of medial intonation singing. Presence or absence of MeSi in medieval MSS of the same date and genre shows that performances with and without MeInt have existed side by side; and moreover, as I have repeatedly pointed out, we have every reason to believe that MeInt-singing was less an imperative necessity than an ad libitum, a possibility open to those who wanted a festive performance. Consequently, a MS provided with MeSi could be used in localities where medial intonations were not a part of actual singing, and the written tradition at such places might very well incorporate the MeSi of the model - for the sake of completeness, from traditionalism, or just in case a future Domestikos should need them. Sooner or later the 'modern' explanation "διὰ νὰ πιστοποιήσουν εἰς ποῖον φθόγγον εὑρίσκεται τὸ μέλος"[165] must also have played a part in the production of such copies. In the end this becomes the only accepted function of the MeSi - a notion that has also been taken over by Western scholars[166].

Therefore, the conservative character of written tradition makes it impossible to decide whether MeSi in a late source were still understood as symbols for medial intonations to be sung, or whether they had only their 'modern' function: control of relative pitch.

✧

The development of the Byzantine intonation system has now been followed through the whole period of written tradition, covering more than a thousand years. Imperfect as it is, this sketch may nevertheless be of some use, as a first survey of a vast material. It may even be that its very imperfections make it a stimulus to renewed consideration of the problems, many of which I have had to leave unsolved.

163. Cf. above, p.5.

164. Cf. above, pp.75-76.

165. PANAGIOTOPOULOS, p.52; I have quoted the whole passage above, p.5.

166. The modern attitude is excellently mirrored in the terminology: μαρτυρία = signature (cf. above, p.43).

THE ORIGINS:

The intonation system of Byzantine chant can be studied in musical MSS from the beginning of the 10th century onwards. This border-line may be pushed further back in time, if older sources come to light - though the chances for any considerable extension of the period of written tradition are decidedly small[167]. On the other side of the border-line lies a vast ocean of oral tradition, unexplored - but not altogether inexplorable. The following pages contain a selection of more or less clear landmarks, some of which might be worth following.

(1) The Western Noeane formulas can be traced back to the time of Charlemagne[168]. These formulas, obviously of Byzantine extraction or inspiration, are usually quoted from Pseudo-Hucbald's Commemoratio brevis, where they are set to melodies that are much longer than the Byzantine standard intonations[169]. Of the Commemoratio brevis no MS is preserved. GERBERT's edition from 1784 is a poor and rather incorrect copy and cannot be trusted in details; but even so, a comparison with later sources for the Noeane formulas shows that the distinctive feature of the formulas of the Commemoratio is a melismatic extension on the last syllable of each formula.

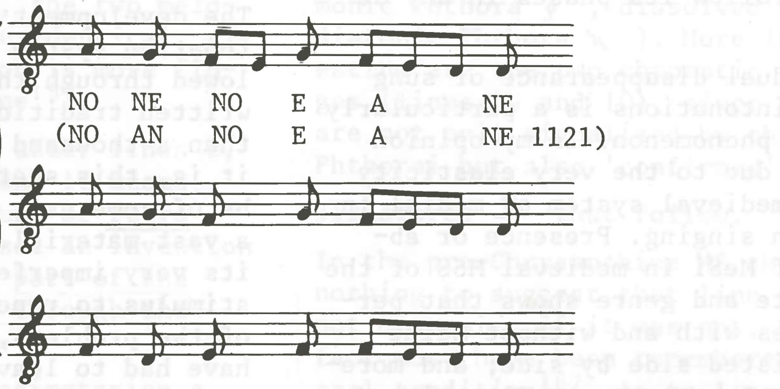
Simple Noeane formulas are preserved in a number of Tonaria, for instance the Tonaria of St. Martial (10th and early 11th cent.); but as these melodies are given in campo aperto, a precise transcription is not possible[170]. Professor PAUL EVANS (Oberlin, Ohio) has kindly provided me with the following tentative transcriptions from the St. Martial Tonaria[171]:

MODE 1:

1240,1121,909:

1118,1084:

1240 has also:



167. The situation has perhaps changed with the rediscovery of the 'Theta-notation' (cf. above, pp.93-94), old specimens of which may still lie hidden among 'non-musical' liturgical MSS.

168. According to the Musica disciplina by Aurelianus of Réomé (mid-ninth century), see GERBERT, Scriptores, I, 41-42.

169. GERBERT, Scriptores, I, 214 sqq. and 229. Pseudo-Hucbald's formulas are reproduced and discussed in ANTOINE AUDA, Les modes et les tons de la musique..., pp.169-175 (Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Beaux Arts. Mémoires. Collection in-8⁰. Tome III, fasc.1, Bruxelles 1930).

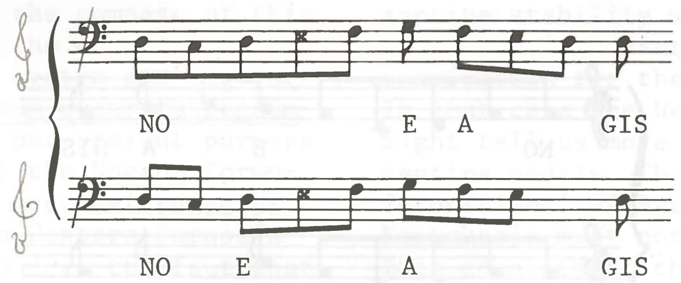
170. COUSSEMAKER's Scriptores, II, 1-73 is a facsimile edition of the Brussels MS of the Tonarius by Regino of Prum, containing a great number of more elaborate Noeane formulas.

171. Paris lat. 1240 (c. 935), 1118 (c. 990), 1o84 (10th cent.), 1121 and 909 (both of them early 11th cent.).

MODE 2:

1240,1118,1084:

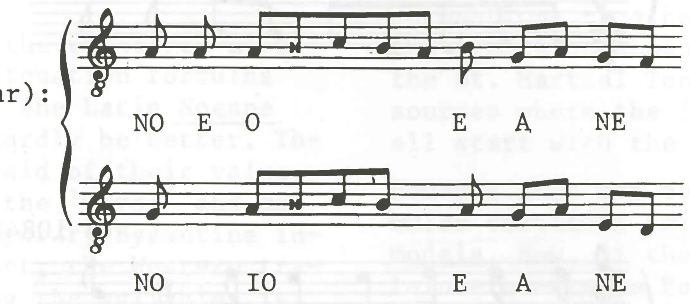
1121,909:



MODE 3:

1118 (1240 and 1084 are similar):
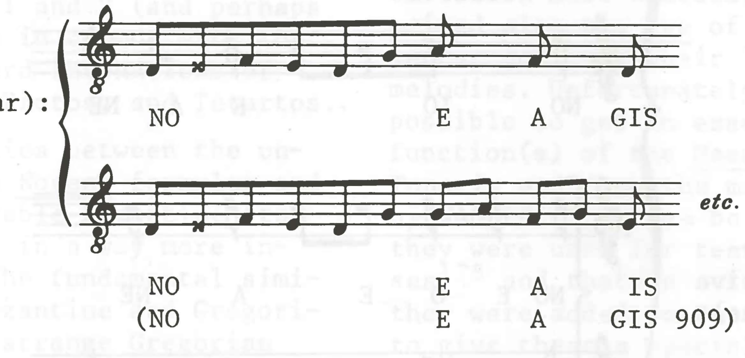
1121,909:



MODE 4:

1118 (1240 and 1084 are similar):

1121,909:
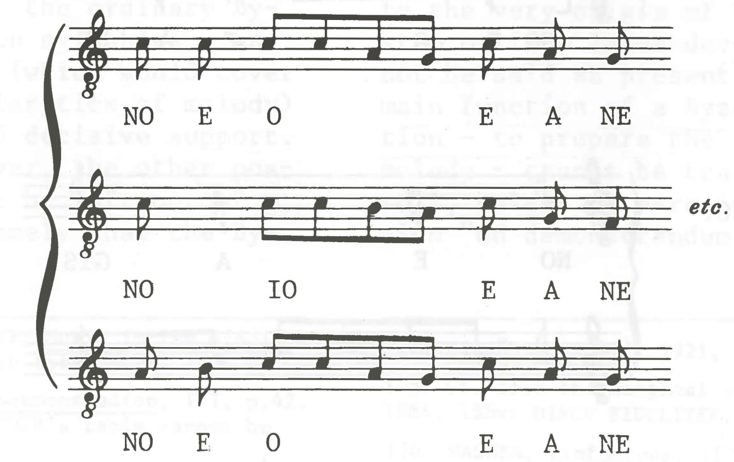


MODE 5:

1118,1084:

1121,909:

1240 (perhaps):



MODE 6:

1084,1240:

1118:

1121,909:

MODE 7:

1118,1084:

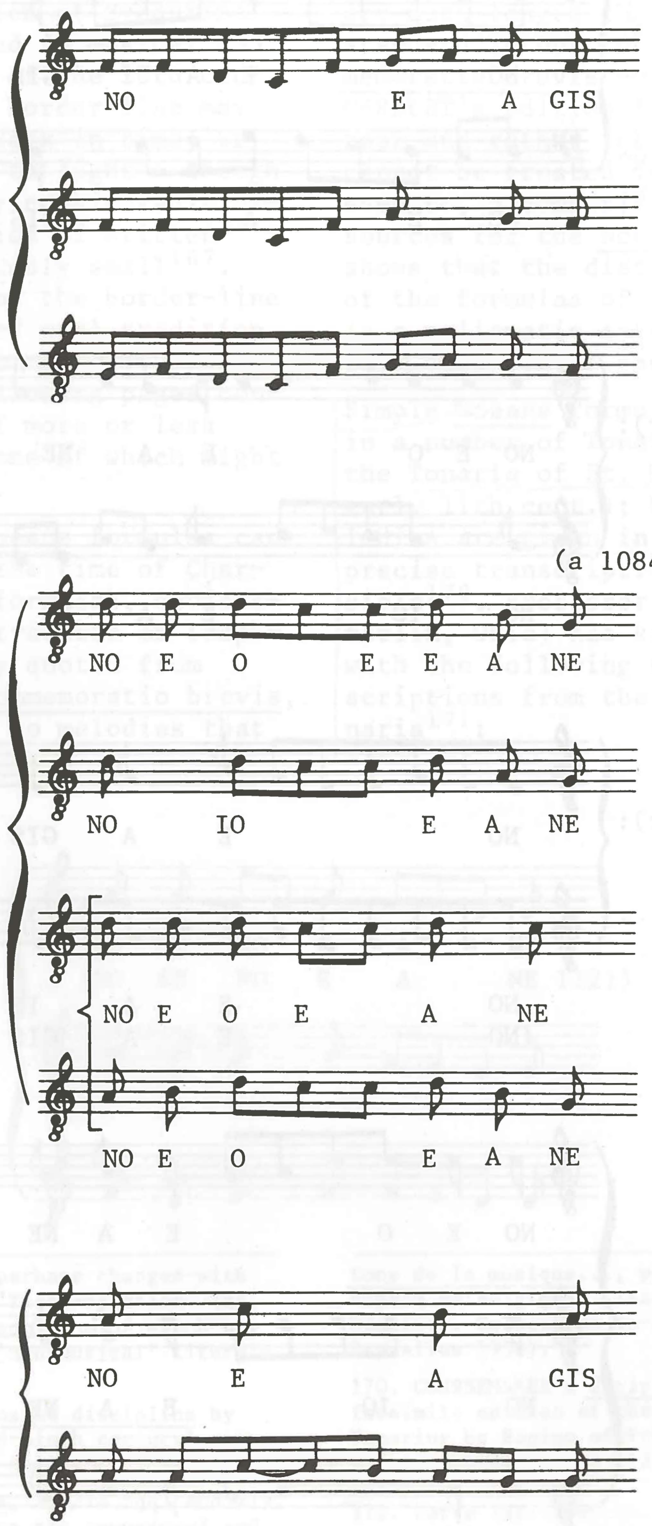
1121,909:

1240 (two versions; tentative transcriptions):

MODE 8:

1118,1084,1240:

1121,909:



It is not within the compass of this book to describe the development of the Latin Noeane system and its successors, the Primum quaerite regnum Dei sets[172]. For our present purpose the importance of the Noeane formulas lies in the very existence of such phenomena in Western Europe about A. D. 800, and in the fact that the Western theorists themselves felt these formulas to be of Byzantine origin.

As evidence for the existence of Byzantine modal intonation formulas about A. D. 800, the Latin Noeane formulas could hardly be better. The same cannot be said of their value as evidence for the 'words' and melodies of contemporary Byzantine intonations. In fact, the Western tradition concerning the syllables is extremely inconsistent[173]. And of the simple Noeane melodies only those for Modes 1 and 2 (and perhaps 7) have features in common with the Byzantine standard intonations of Protos, Plagios Protos, and Tetartos.

The dissimilarities between the unstable Gregorian Noeane formulas and the much more stable Byzantine standard ἠχήματα are in a way more interesting than the fundamental similarity of the Byzantine and Gregorian systems. The strange Gregorian Noeane words are usually explained as distortions of the ordinary Byzantine intonation syllables - and this explanation (which would cover also the dissimilarities of melody) may some day find decisive support. Until then, however, the other possibility must not be left out of consideration, namely that the Byzantine stability was achieved after the Gregorian chant had received its inspiration for the Noeane formulas. In that case the Western formulas might tell us more about their Byzantine models. The 'refrain-intonations' of Byzantine text-Kontakaria must not be forgotten in this connection; their overwhelming use of the nana abbreviation (cf. above, p.116) can hardly be reconciled with the oktoekhic standard intonations - rather, perhaps, with the tradition known from Aurelianus, the St. Martial Tonaria, and other sources where the intonation 'words' all start with the syllable NO.

However that may be, the Noeane formulas certainly imitate Byzantine models. Now, if the West found certain elements in Eastern chant and decided to incorporate or at least imitate them in Western singing, the imitation must necessarily have comprised also the use of those elements, not only their 'words' and melodies. Unfortunately, it is not possible to get an exact idea of the function(s) of the Noeanes. From the Tonaria and from the material quoted by WAGNER[174] it can be seen that they were used for teaching purposes[175] and that in actual singing they were added to Cantica-Antiphons to give these a special brilliancy. Whether the latter usage dates back to the very origin of the Noeane system or is a later development, cannot be said at present[176]. The other main function of a Byzantine intonation - to prepare the incipit of a melody - cannot be traced on Latin soil, unless it were in the expression "ad demonstrandum tonum" which

172. See GUSTAVE REESE, Music in the Middle Ages, 1940, p.173 with references.

173. Cf. FLEISCHER, Neumenstudien, III, p.42. The details of FLEISCHER's table cannot be trusted, however.

174. Einführung, III, 1921, pp.320-322.

175. Cf. also the marginal note in Paris lat. 1084, 155v: DISCE FIDELITER.

176. WAGNER, Einführung, III, p.321.

occurs, for instance, in Paris lat. 1084 (folios 155r and 156r); but these words might just as well be connected with the purely didactic use of the Noeanes.

(2) The Noeane system showed with certainty that Byzantine intonations of some kind existed about A. D. 800. In their 'classical' use these intonations are so intimately linked to the eight modes[177] that the intonation system as we know it from later Byzantine musical MSS cannot be earlier than the Oktoekhos systematization. This important date cannot be fixed even approximately, but is in all likelihood earlier than the time of St. John of Damascus († ca. 750), the alleged inventor of the Oktoekhos[178]. In his article on St. Gregory Nazianus and the Proper Hymns for Easter[179] STRUNK has convincingly shown that the Easter Kanon by John of Damascus is melodically dependent upon Stikhera which "were actually being sung in Palestine about the middle of the sixth century and perhaps still earlier" (p.82). The said Stikhera (and John's Kanon) are all in the Protos mode. However, as this attribution to the Protos may be secondary, STRUNK's observation does not provide us with a safe terminus ante quem for the Oktoekhos systematization.

In any case, the unknown date of the introduction of the Oktoekhos means a terminus post quem for the intonation system qua system, but not necessarily for intonations and intonation habits. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe in an earlier existence of 'intonation elements' that were later developed into the oktoekhic ἠχήματα.

(3) The literary evidence for pre-oktoekhic elements that could conceivably be understood as a basis for the later ἠχήματα is extremely poor, since it is restricted to one, rather dubious, passage in Cassian's De coenobiorum institutis (late 4th century), used for example by WAGNER as "das älteste Zeugnis für die Existenz melismatischen Gesanges in der Liturgie des Offiziums"[180]. Cassian's expression "adjunctione quarumdam modulationum" is normally taken as a reference to punctuating melismata of some kind[181]. Yet this interpretation is not wholly convincing. From the context one would rather expect the "modulationes" to be real intercalations, used - like the antiphons - to prolong the psalm singing. Whether these intercalations were sung on meaningless syllables or for instance on the word alleluia cannot be decided[182].

(4) The nature of the unknown elements that are hypothetically to be postulated as origin(s) for the Byzantine ἠχήματα must therefore be deduced from the ἠχήματα themselves.

177. Apart, perhaps, from the Kontakarian 'refrain-intonations' (cf. above, p.116).

178. For the literary evidence, see GUSTAVE REESE, Music in the Middle Ages, 1940, pp. 71-75.

179. Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., Princeton 1955, pp.82-87.

180. Einführung, I, 1911, p.33. Since WAGNER's quotation is slightly incorrect, I give the text as it is found in MIGNE, PL 49, 78 (not PL 59,77 as indicated by WAGNER!): "Quidam enim vicenos, seu tricenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis et adjunctione quarumdam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt...".

181. WAGNER, Einführung, III, 1921, p.43, note 1.

182. E. WERNER, Sacred Bridge, p.177: "The 'certain melismata', of course, refer to the Alleluia".

In doing so, it will be necessary for us to consider (A) the intonation syllables, (B) the intonation melodies, and (C) the functions of the intonations.

A. There are several reasons for believing that the use of meaningless syllables is older than the formation of the Byzantine intonation words. The different explanations of the Byzantine and Gregorian 'words' can in principle be reduced to two types, one which considers the words actually preserved to be distortions and corruptions of words that originally had a meaning[183], the other believing that the syllables were meaningless from the very beginning[184]. Such meaningless sounds are perhaps to be understood as vocal imitations of instrumental music. As to WERNER's attractive hypothesis (cf. footnote 183), it leads to an absurdity, since it would virtually mean that a singer, in a melismatic style, would sing a text consisting of the very word "melisma". The word ninnua would be an excellent term for a melisma, but certainly not an appropriate text for it[185].

Concerning the symbols υ and ι, used in αιαυεαυες, υαυ, etc., HØEG suggests that these may be "une invention artificielle, née dans les classes de chant"[186].

B. As to the intonation melodies we must distinguish between bodies and tails.

A great many intonation tails have exact parallels in the endings of internal cadences[187]. That is to say that the transition from ἤχημα to the following melody was made by the same means as the transition from one melodic phrase to the next. This technique of accommodation - governed by the law of melodic adjustment, WAGNER's "Anpassungsgesetz"[188] and carried out with the same melodic material in the two situations - must be older than the oktoekhic ἠχήματα, even though we cannot tell whether it was applied already to the pre-oktoekhic 'intonations' or was originally used only at internal cadences.

In his article on The Antiphons of the Oktoechos STRUNK has shown that the psalmodic cadence is adjusted to the following initium according to the same laws as the intonation is accommodated to the Heirmos or Stikheron that follows: "only the final element is modified, and it is modified in the same way and for the same reasons"[189]. According to STRUNK, "the cadence formulas used in Byzantine psalmody are associated, not so much with particular modes, as with particular steps of the system" (ibid., pp.60-61). This observation supports my hypothesis that the intonation tails are older than the eight modes system.

183. The most interesting of these is ERIC WERNER's theory "that the origin of the neannoe formula is to be found in the Hebrew word ninnua" (byforms nana or nanua), a root meaning i. a. "quivering melodic movement" (E.WERNER, The Psalmodic Formula Neannoe and Its Origin, The Musical Quarterly 28, 1942, pp. 93-99).

184. WELLESZ, History, 2nd edition, pp.304-5. Cf. HØEG in the introduction to MMB IV (p.27): "Il faut croire que dans le iubilus on ne chantait pas seulement sur les syllables a-lē-lou-ya, mais aussi sur d'autres dont le syllabaire, si j'ose dire, s'est maintenu dans les formules tonales".

185. Why not the word anenu ("answer us!") which, according to A. Z. IDELSOHN, Jewish music in its historical development, 1929, p.21 was used as a common refrain in public worship?

186. MMB IV, Introduction, p.28, note 2.

187. Cf. above, p.61. See also THODBERG's thesis, Chapter 6, paragraph 4 with notes 8-11.

188. Cf. above, p.3, note 14.

189. Journal of the American Musicological Society 13, 1960, p.59.

Of the intonation bodies, some are also found as melodic opening formulas (e.g. the Deuteros[190], the Mesos Deuteros[191], and the Tetartos[192]) and one or two are identical with cadential formulas (Plagios Protos[193] and perhaps the Protos intonation[194]).

These parallels may give an idea of the manner in which the melodies of the oktoekhic intonations were created. However, it seems more simple and more natural to suppose that the melodies used for the oktoekhic standard intonations were old intercalation melodies taken over (or adapted) for the new purpose[195].

C. Finally, the various functions of the ἠχήματα raise questions about the functions of the phenomena from which the oktoekhic intonations developed. These functions can be reduced to the following four:

(a) to facilitate the attack of the following melody;
(b) to give special brilliancy to the performance;
(c) to serve as stage directions;
(d) to underline the structure of the texts.

Of these four, a and b need no special text; instrumental preludes and interludes or vocalises of meaningless sounds would be enough. On the

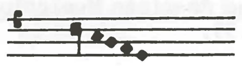
190. The intonation ϰε α ϰεσ is related to
b a Gab
a common opening formula, cf. e. g. MMB Transcripta I (Sept), p.63: Θει_οσ θη_σαυ_ροσ (D,
b a G ab b
fol.15r) and the examples collected in MARZI, Melodia e nomos, pp.60-61.

191. Intonation ϰε α ϰε ε εσ, found, e.g., in
bc G EFGF G
D, foll.8r and 8v; cf. MMB Transcripta I (Sept)
p.34: Τισ ο η_χοσ . Other examples in MAR-
bc G G EFGFG
ZI, p.78.

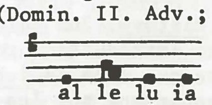
192. Intonation α γι α (e.g. MMB IV,
d b c b a G
111r); cf. MMB III (E.γ.II), 95r: Κυ_ρι_ _ _ _ _ε.
d bcba G
Intonation α α α γι α α, cf. MMB III, 119v:
d c b a G d
Σου την παν_αγ_νον και etc. In the Stikhera-
d c b a G d
rion Ohrid inv.61, p.73, I have found the following incipit: Πυ_ρι_νοισ χει_λε_σιν, where
d d c b a G
the Tzakisma on λε is to be noticed.

193. Intonation α ϰε α ϰεσ, cf. e.g. the ca-
D F E D
dences in Ὦ μακαρία δυάσ, MMB Transcripta I (Sept), p.49, also the melisma called Thematismos Eso (G a c b a). MARZI, p.72, points out that there is a close parallel to the Plagios Protos intonation in the common opening formula Κυ_ρι_ε.
F E D

194. Even though no parallels to the intona-
tion α ια ϰε α ϰεσ can be quoted from Byzan-
a G F E D
tine sources, they have probably existed; cf. the Latin translation of the Apolytikion for September 8 (Ἡ γέννησίσ σου ~ Nativitas tua; Liber Usualis p.1627) with the recurrent cadence



195. For examples of intercalations, see above, pp.67-70. Cf. also TARDO, L'Antica melurgia, tav.XXVI, where the Alleluia refrains are set to melodies of the same type as those used for the standard intonations:
αλ_λη_λου_ι_α ; αλ_λη_λου_ι_α ; αλληλουια ;
a G F E D a G F E{D / D a} a b c ba
αλ_λη_λου_ι_α ; αλ_λη_λου_ι_α. It is inter-
a E F E D Ga aG F E D
esting to see that the same type is found in Western chant; cf. e.g. the Antiphon Ecce in nubibus caeli (Domin. II. Adv.; Liber Usualis p.331), ending



. Cf. also the Amen refrains in the oldest Christian melody extant, the Oxyrrhynchus Papyrus from the end of the 3rd century (WELLESZ, History, 2nd edition, pp.152-156; WERNER, The Sacred Bridge, pp.339 and 355). For the antiphons of the 'chanted' office, a frequently used refrain melody runs b b a G a b b a G (STRUNK, The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 9-10, 1956, p.185, example 3).

contrary, c requires some kind of understandable text[196]. For punctuation purposes (d), melodies with or without text would be equally appropriate - for instance as punctuating melismata or as refrains.

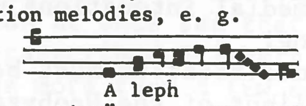
(5) Any theory about the background of the Byzantine intonation system must make use of some of the considerations outlined on pp.158 sqq.

It would also have to consider the possibility that other phenomena of Byzantine music derive from the same source as the intonations[197]. And, finally, it would have to bear in mind that other branches of Christian chant are likely to make use of devices that have been developed from the same unknown nucleus as the intonations of Byzantine chant[198].

196. Cf. above, p.82.

197. Cf. above, note 195.

198. In this connection, the performance of the Lamentationes in Holy Week is of considerable interest, since the Hebrew letters Aleph, Beth, Ghimel, etc. are here used as intonations. The melodies used for this purpose are not uniform in Western tradition, but some of them are closely related to the Byzantine intonation melodies, e. g.



(WAGNER, Einführung, III, 1921, p.241). For the chanted Lamentations alphabeth, see DACL I, 1257-60, WAGNER III, 235-243, and WERNER, The Sacred Bridge, pp.476 sqq. and 495.

Chapter VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the investigation which has been undertaken in the present book could be expressed in a list with items ranging from established facts to more or less plausible working hypotheses. Instead, I have chosen to state, in three theses, the essential results obtained.

I:

The main arguments in favour of the hypothesis that the medial signatures are symbols for sung medial intonations were put forward in Chapter V (pp.55-64) and the soundness of the hypothesis was checked in Chapter VII (pp.89-153), on a material which covers more than 1000 years of written tradition and which consists of data taken from a diversity of musical styles and genres. The hypothesis needs two modifications, however.

One of these is a consequence of the fact that intonations were sometimes intercalated as an ornament, to give special brilliancy to the performance (pp.66 and 70 with footnotes). We must infer from these cases that a number of medial signatures are to be understood as indications of a possibility for singing medial intonations, rather than as symbols for medial intonations which had to be sung.

The other modification must be seen in the light of the Neobyzantine use of medial signatures as silent signs of control. For reasons that are put forward in Chapter VII (p. 153), the change from sung ἠχήματα to silent μαρτυρίαι cannot be followed in detail. Since medial signatures were used as pitch-symbols in the μετροφωνίαι (p. 53), it is possible that the silent medial signatures originated in teaching. At any rate, silent medial signatures occur already in the Middle Ages (pp.124-125).

With the said modifications, this part of the investigation can be summed up in the following thesis:

THESIS 1: The medial signatures in Byzantine musical manuscripts are to be taken to indicate that the corresponding intonations could be sung, for practical or ornamental reasons, except in cases where the opposite can be shown.

II:

In connection with the 'refrain-intonations' of the old Kontakia (pp.115-116) and in connection with performance of kalophonic chant (especially pp. 80-81, 121-124, 141-144) we have come across cases where a distinction between medial signatures and main signatures could hardly be drawn. The intonations signalized by medial signatures in these cases are not of the same order as intonations intercalated for ornamental reasons. They are to be connected with types of performance

where the text was not sung from one end to the other by the same singer or singers; the intonations were here used to prepare fresh attacks of choir or soloist. These phenomena have not been in the center of the exposition; but in a final analysis they deserve a higher rank. In fact, they are well suited as points of departure for further studies.

The following thesis states what can be said at present in this connection:

THESIS 2: At times medial signatures are connected with singing that involves repetition or alternation between performers; in these cases the corresponding intonations were probably sung to facilitate precise attacks. To what extent conclusions about such performance types can be drawn from occurrences of medial signatures, is still an open question.

III:

In Chapter II it was shown that a number of seemingly wrong medial signatures cannot be mistakes; they reflect tonal peculiarities in their surroundings (pp.20-23). Traces of this use of medial intonations can be demonstrated in our oldest musical manuscripts (p.101) and the same or related phenomena are described by the late Byzantine theoreticians (pp.46-47), from whom I have taken over the term ἀπὸ μέλουσ to denote this use. Largely inspired by THODBERG's discoveries, my interpretation tries to combine such 'wrong' medial signatures with late Byzantine and modern descriptions of phthoric modulation and with STRUNK's demonstration of partial transpositions (pp.23-26).

The essential result of the investigation of the ἀπὸ μέλουσ signatures is expressed in the following thesis:

THESIS 3: A considerable number of seemingly wrong medial signatures reflect tonal peculiarities in the musical context and cannot be dismissed as copyists' errors or misunderstandings. It is reasonable to infer that the Byzantines felt the melodic formulas in many of these cases as transpositions or modulations.

Any of the three theses involves some consequences for future editions of Byzantine music.

(1) It follows from the first thesis that a true picture of Byzantine chant must include the singing of medial intonations to a much larger extent than has hitherto been recognized. However, the great freedom in the use of such intercalations - and also the changing habits of the generations - means a serious difficulty for an editor who wishes his transcriptions to reflect also this element of Byzantine chant. The problem can be seen most clearly in the Stikherarion, of which more than 600 medieval copies are believed to exist. Bearing in mind that it is precisely in this genre that the greatest diversity of settings is found, we can at once see that an edition of transcribed Stikhera cannot include more than a few selected types of settings with medial intonations.

As to the leading principles for a choice, I should like to point out

that there are at least three quite different ways of deciding which settings to describe. Indeed, one could with equal right choose

(a) the most commonly used settings,
(b) the most effective settings,
(c) dated and localized settings.

Of these, the first would involve an undue effort of comparative manuscript studies and the second would depend too much on the editor's judgement. Objectivity can better be obtained if the editor would stick to the settings of a few, well-defined manuscript traditions.

(2) Whether intonations are used for the specific purposes which were mentioned in the second thesis or are intercalated for ornamental or other reasons, the affinity between medial signatures and text-structure is an established fact. For this reason, too, is it desirable that chanted texts be edited in a way which renders the text-structure - as well as the structure of melody - by typographical means, as a welcome aid to the reader. Obviously, no general rules can be given about the typographical arrangement; the examples in the present book display a variety of solutions, each of which may have its merits and disadvantages.

(3) As regards the rendering of medial signatures or intonations, it seems expedient to stick as closely as possible to the tradition of the Byzantine scribes. The signatures need not be 'translated' into full intonations; these can easily be supplied by any student who is familiar with the standard intonation bodies. Besides, the use of full intonations would be against the ad libitum character of the Byzantine medial signatures. For the sake of clarity, one ought perhaps to follow the example of WELLESZ, THODBERG, and others, who regularly transcribe the tail-neumes of the signatures on the staff (between dotted lines, for instance). Usually, however, the pitch of the medial signatures can be seen directly from the context, and no transcription is needed.

(4) If the structure of the chanted pieces is rendered typographically - in short or long verses, per cola et commata, and so on - a difficulty is caused by the fact that all medial intonations are not oriented in the same direction (see pp.73-75). In the examples in the present book I have usually put the medial signatures before the lines, and this is no doubt the best solution although some of the medial signatures - the retrospective ones - have an echo effect which would be more clearly depicted if they were placed after the lines. (For the echo effect, see p. 61). In a way, the most logical - and neutral - solution would be to reserve a whole line for each medial signature, in the following arrangement:

MSi
t e x t
MeSi
t e x t
MeSi
t e x t
MeSi
t e x t
etc.

This arrangement, however, cannot be recommended for the simple reason that it involves a considerable waste of space and paper.

(5) Finally, if it is accepted that the medial signatures - including the ones referred to in the last of my theses - reflect the interval-relations of their context, it will be possible to provide our transcriptions with accidentals without diminishing their objectivity, due to the information which we can get from the medial signatures. But it must not be forgotten that this information can only be secondary. Ultimately, a comparative study of melodies and formulas must be decisive.

APPENDIX A.
THE RUBRICATORS OF THE VIENNA STIKHERARION THEOL. GRAEC. 181

Johannes Dalassenos, the scribe of the Stikherarion which was published in Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae as Volume I of the Main Series, has described his work in a subscription on folio 321r. Although this subscription is written in very strange and slipshod Greek[1], one thing is certain - Dalassenos has not mentioned with one word that he did not write the whole MS himself.

Working on the MS ("D") in Vienna for a few weeks in 1958, I realized, however, that Dalassenos had two helpers in the rubrication work - at least for some parts of his book.

The methods employed by Dalassenos and his two fellow-rubricators can be studied with most profit on folios 185-248 (i.e. almost the whole of the Triodion). Much of the rubrication on these folios was written with an extremely characteristic sort of ink which does not resemble any other ink used in D for rubrication. It is of an orange colour and very often has some gray particles in it, perhaps oxydated lead or some other unintentional chemical product. It is very bad - uneven in quality, and flakes off. Many of the MSi and headlines in this orange ink were written with a pen which was broader than the pens used elsewhere in the MS for rubrication.

1. Cf. the introduction to the facsimile edition (MMB I, pp.17-18).

The part of the book in which the orange ink (X) is found, consists of eight regular quaternions; these gatherings are unnumbered, but are actually quaternions XXIV-XXXI. In Vienna I made a complete list of the X rubrication. It runs as follows:

Quaternio XXIV (folios 185-192):

185r: Decorative pattern? First initial letter? Original signature for hymn 2?
185v-191r: Initial letters and signatures (+ headline 188r and musical variant 189v line 14).
191v-192r: Nothing.
192v: Initial letters; original signature to hymn 2?

Quaternio XXV (folios 193-200):

193r-198r: Initial letters and signatures (+ headline 195v, except for the word τῆ, and musical variants in the beginning of 196r hymn 2, 196v hymn 1, and 197v hymn 2).
198v: Initial letters; signature for hymn 1; headline for hymn 2.
199r-200v: Initial letters.

Quaternio XXVI (folios 201-208):

201r: Initial letters.
201v-203r: Nothing.
203v-207r: Signatures (+ headline for 205r hymn 3).
207v-208r: Initial letters and signatures; musical variants 207v.
208v: Initial letters.

Quaternio XXVII (folios 209-216):

209r - first half of 210v: Nothing.
210v, second half - 214r: Signatures.
214v-215r: Initial letters.
215v-216v: Nothing.

Quaternio XXVIII (folios 217-224):

217r: ? (perhaps initial letters).
217v-218r: Nothing.
218v-222r: Signatures (+ headline 220r).
222v: Initial letters and signatures for hymns 1 and 2.
223r: Headline; signature for hymn 1; initial letter for hymn 1?
223v-224r: Initial letters and signatures.
224v: Initial letters.

Quaternio XXIX (folios 225-232):

225r: Initial letters and signatures.
225v-226v: Nothing.
227r: Signatures; headline; all medial signatures and musical variants.
227v-232r: Nothing.
232v: Initial letter.

Quaternio XXX (folios 233-240):

233r-234v, first half: Initial letters and signatures; headline; medial signatures and musical variants.
234v, second half: Initial letter.
235r-235v, line 6: Nothing.
235v, line 7 - 240v: Everything.

Quaternio XXXI (folios 241-248):

241r-241v: Everything, except two medial signatures on 241r.
242r-246r: Everything, except the medial signatures and musical variants[2].
246v-248v: Nothing.

2. X, however, wrote the initium variants for the first hymn on 244v and the third hymn on 246r. This musical variant for the initium of the last hymn on 246r is the last entry which X made in our manuscript; in this connection it is interesting to see that the initial K of this hymn was not written by X.

To sum up: On 16 pages X-ink was used for all rubrication work;
on 1 page for everything except initial letters;
on 43 pages for initial letters and signatures;
on 10½ pages for initial letters only;
on 23½ pages for signatures only;
on 30 pages between 185r and 246r there are no traces of X-ink.

X-ink has also been used for some headlines on 5 pages (188r, 195v, 198v, 205v, 220r), and for some musical variants on 4 pages (189v, 196r, 196v, 197v).

☆

I have given the complete list of the X rubrication for two reasons. My first reason is that this can be done with certainty (and be useful to some-one who has only access to the facsimile edition). The second is that since this list is so confused and puzzling, it tells us in itself that more than one rubricator has worked on the MS; it is virtually impossible that one scribe should have used different kinds of ink - and different pens - in this capricious way.

In Vienna I tried to distinguish between the various colours of ink used for the initial letters throughout the whole MS. My observations are not altogether trustworthy (because each type of ink had different shades and only the X-ink could be identified with certainty). But imperfect as these descriptions are, they may be of some help, provided that they are supported by other observations.

In qu. XXIV-XXXI the initial letters that are not X-coloured are of two different colours: one (a clear and lively red) like the ink used on folios 1r sqq., the other (more pale, at times with a yellowish hue) more like the ink found on folio 138r. I call these two colours Z (the one from 1r) and Y (the one from 138r). According to my Vienna notes - made before I had formed any hypothesis at all as to the various hands in qu. XXIV-XXXI - the Z and Y coloured initial letters in these quaternions are distributed as follows:

qu. XXIV:	Z:	191v-192r (penultimate double-page)
qu. XXVI:	Z:	201v-207r (six double-pages inside the quaternio)[3]
qu. XXVII:	Y:	209r-211r (first page, next two double-pages)
	Z:	211v-212r (next double-page)
	Y:	212v-213r (next double-page)
	Z:	213v-214r (next double-page)
	[X:	214v-215r (next double-page)]
	Y:	215v-216v (one double-page + the last page)
qu. XXVIII:	Z:	217v-222r (five double-pages inside the quaternio)
qu. XXIX:	Y:	225v-232r (all double-pages inside the quaternio)
qu. XXX:	Z:	235r (one initial letter)
qu. XXXI:	Z:	246r (last initial letter)
	Y:	246v
	[	247r sqq.: The initial letters filled out with khaki coloured ink.]

It is easy to show that Z and Y were not used by the same scribe - in other words that X, Y, and Z represent three different scribes, each of them preferring his own ink[4]. To prove this, the various forms of the initial letter T are suitable:
The X-coloured T is found in a diversity of forms (cf. e.g. the quite different forms on 185v, 189r, 208v, 239r);
the Y-coloured T follows the same, free tradition (231v, 226r, 212v, 215v, etc.);
the Z-coloured T is stereotype (203r, 204r, 205v, 213v, 219r, etc.).

This combination of difference in ink and in treatment of the letter T should be sufficient proof that 3 rubricators - X, Y, and Z - were at work in qu. XXIV-XXXI. A number of the following observations confirm this point.

From the way in which the initial letters of X, Y, and Z are mixed - see especially qu. XXVII - we infer at once that the three rubricators

3. 202v perhaps made by Y.

4. In Paris gr. 270, two scribes (text-scribe and neumator) used the same sepia ink to write letter-numerals and neumes of the signatures, respectively. (I have analyzed the confection of this MS in the paper which I read at the Ohrid Congress, cf. above, p.28, note 2, p.30 note 13, and p.31 note 17).
In Ohrid 57 the two kinds of rubrication ink belong to two scribes (cf. above, p.137, note 121).

must have worked simultaneously or in turns. It is quite impossible that each of them should have rubricated his part of all eight gatherings before the next rubricator started to work.

✰

Let us try to grasp their technique. And let us start at the moment where the text of the hymns had been copied from the model MS. At that stage our part of D consisted of 8 loose gatherings which were folded but not yet sewn together. The first thing to do was to provide these texts with neumes. In doing that, the neumator (whether or not the same as the text-scribe) at times had to supply missing syllables. He did this with his broad neume-pen - cf. the very clear case at the bottom of 208v where the text-scribe had left out the word θέλων[5]. Obviously there were some musical variants in his model; sometimes he copied these, cf. for example the long variant 207v, lines 15-16 (which X, later on, made clearer with his characteristic ink).

Next, the rubricators start their work. This comprises several items, namely the initial letters (in the following referred to as IL), the main intonations or signatures (MSi), the headlines (HL); all these are absolutely necessary. Besides, they write other rubrics (e.g. the incipits of Martyrika and Theotokia 190v -216v), medial signatures (MeSi), and corrections of text (TVa) and music (MVa).

Sometimes one rubricator writes all these things alone - for instance X on most of qu. XXX - but mostly they divide the job between them. As an illustration I give a survey of qu. XXVI:

	IL	MSi	MeSi	MVa	HL	Other rubrics
201r	X	Y	Z	Z	–	–
v	Z				–	–
202r					Z	–
v	Z (or Y?)					–
203r	Z					Z
v		X				
204r						
v				–		
205r				Z	X and Z	
v					Z	
206r						
v						
207r						
v	X		–	X		
208r			–	–		
v		Z	–	–		

5. Other cases: 211v, line 11; 219v, line 18; 220v, line 6.

From this table (and from the list of the IL in qu. XXIV-XXXI) we can immediate grasp one of the leading principles of the lay-out: There is an outspoken tendency to let a new man start at the top of a verso page. The reasons are no doubt esthetical. The opened double-page looks better when both verso and recto have IL and MSi coloured in the same manner - especially the IL, whose coloured area dominates the whole picture.

There is only one conspicuous deviation from this rule: At the beginning of a gathering (i.e. on a recto) we quite often find a new hand. As a matter of fact we find new hands of
IL at the beginning of qu. XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII;
MSi at the beginning of qu. XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX;
MeSi at the beginning of qu. XXVII and XXX.

These changes of hand constitute a first argument that the rubrication work was done on loose gatherings ('quaterniatim').

✰

I have another set of arguments in favour of a rubrication quaterniatim. These arguments are based on a close examination of various - often very small - spots of red ink which are due to the pages having been turned before the rubrication ink was quite dry. As I shall have to draw several conclusions from these off-prints in the present description, I should like to state in some detail a few points concerning off-print; some of them might be useful for students of other kinds of MSS, too[6].

On 254r sqq. a later hand added some Δόξα καὶ νῦν in the margin, with brown ink. We may safely assume that this was done after the MS had been bound. Now, on 268v there is a very clear off-print from the Δόξα καὶ νῦν on 269r; the page was obviously turned over immediately after he had 'finished' his work on 269r.

On 199v, last line, over the word σου, there is an off-print from Z's MeSi - the last one on 200r. Z writes MeSi also on 200v.

On 205v, inner margin, there is - to the right of the Petasthe - off-print from Z's last IL on 206r. Z's IL continue on 206v.

I could easily mention more similar cases; but these three will suffice to make one important thing clear concerning off-prints: It is the last item written before the page is turned which is most likely to produce an off-print, i. e. the off-print will normally be found on a verso page. A very curious confirmation of this - in itself rather evident - 'rule' can be seen in the upper margin of 123r, where there is a clear off-print from the κε̄ of the HL on 122v. According to the 'rule' this should indicate that the date of the feast for St. Gregory was originally left in blank - and that is precisely what was the case, cf. the quite clear parallels on 124v (where the date was inserted over the line) and 162v, 164v, 165r, etc. (where the dates are still missing).

Off-print can thus confirm a hypothesis that something was added to a HL; but it can just as well be used to the opposite effect. On 131r the ιγ̄ of the HL looks as if it was not written with the same ink as the rest of the HL - only a small shade of difference, but enough, one would think, to enable us to state that we had here once more a case like those mentioned above. But as soon as the off-prints on 130v are identified (two tiny dots over the first and the tenth letter in line 3 on 130v), it can be seen that these dots came from the corresponding ones over the Gamma of the date and the Iota in the word μαρτϊνηανοῦ. In this situation it would be extremely improbable if the date, when added later on, should produce an off-print exactly like the one made by the 'original' part of the HL. We can be sure that the whole HL was written at the same time, notwithstanding the apparently different shades of ink.

On the same double-page (130v-131r) there is a whole set of off-prints which are most interesting and illustrative: 130v line 14 the off-print over the first two letters comes from the neumes of the opposite MSi; 131r, upper margin, the off-print comes from the opposite MSi - again from the neumes, not from the letter-numeral; the off-print on

6. Cf. KIRSOPP and SILVA LAKE's Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts I, 1934, in the description of Jerusalem, Holy Cross, cod. 55 (plates 3-6).

131r, middle of outer margin, comes from the neumes of the opposite MSi.
In all these cases only the neumes of the MSi have made an off-print. We can therefore be sure that these neumes were not written at the same time as the rest of the MSi.

The general value of off-print study is by now clear. In our present case - where I argue in favour of a quaterniatim rubrication - we find 'normal' off-prints (i.e. from the last item before the rubricator turned the page over and continued on the next page) on 189v, 198v, 199v, 201v, 204v, 205v (both from Z's IL and X's retraced MVa 206r line 13), 219v, 229v (both from MSi and MeSi), and 231v.

Some cases are less clear. The off-print on 195r (penultimate line), on 202r (bottom of outer margin), and on 220r (outer margin) does not come from the last but from the penultimate item written before the page was turned. In two cases off-print is found under somewhat puzzling circumstances: X's IL on 199v made an off-print - but his two IL on 200r did not; Y's MSi at bottom of 217v (the last but one before turning) made an off-print - but Y did not continue to work on 218v, so why did he turn the page so quickly?

These two cases, however, are not very important. The last exception from the 'rule', on the other hand, is most strange: On 232v there are three clear off-prints (in the outer, upper corner; in the middle of lines 10 and 15) which do not correspond to anything on 233r; the ink is the typical X-ink. This off-print is enigmatic, but since fol. 232 is the last folio of qu. XXIX, it must be due to something which happened before the MS was bound (before qu. XXIX and qu. XXX were put together). In other words: one more indication of quaterniatim rubrication!

A technique that involves the handling of only one gathering at a time ought to mean that off-prints will not be found on the recto of the first folio of a gathering and the verso of the last folio. In the Dalassenos Stikherarion, which consists of 41 gatherings, there are numerous cases of off-print inside the gatherings, but only in two cases do we find off-prints from one gathering to the other: On 16v (end of gathering II) line 10, from opposite MeSi - and on 32v (end of gathering IV) line 13, from opposite MSi[7].

☆

I have already mentioned the esthetical principle, to let new colours of red ink begin on top of verso pages - especially as far as the IL are concerned. From the survey of the X rubrication (above, pp.167 sq.) it can be seen that X almost always writes IL on the first and last page of each gathering; the only exception is qu. XXVII. It looks as if these exterior pages at times were left without IL, to be written later on by X - a practical way of observing the esthetical rule just referred to. Apart from that, the writing of IL and MSi has been done in different patterns. At times - e.g. qu. XXV (-198v) and qu. XXXI - the same scribe wrote both IL and MSi, but elsewhere they worked in shorter turns, either of IL or of MSi.

In qu. XXVII we find a most ingenious pattern which concerns only the writing of the IL. The IL are here written 'bifoliatim', that is to say that the gathering was taken apart into 4 loose bifolia; the rubricators could then work simultaneously, each of them with one bifolium. The IL on qu. XXVII (folios 209-216) must have been written in the following way:

Y did both sides of the first bifolium (the 'exterior': 209r+216v; the 'interior': 209v+216r).

After that there were three bifolia left, one for each rubricator. They could not, however, do as Y did with the first bifolium; if they had written the IL on both sides of their bifolium, the esthetical rule would have been violated again and again. Instead they followed a system which made it possible for them to work simultaneously on all three bifolia without doing wrong to the esthetical principle:

Y had done the interior of the first bifolium (209v+216r), so he had to do the exterior of the second (210r+215v);

X at the same time wrote the exterior of the third (211r+214v), and Z that of the fourth (212r+213v).

The three rubricators then interchanged their bifolia:

Y had to give 210+215 to X, because X had written IL on 211r+214v and now had to do 210v+215r;

X for a similar reason gave 211+214 to Z;

Z gave 212+213 to Y who could do its interior (212v+213r) without violating the rule of esthetics.

The only weak point in this reconstruction is 210v. My notes about the two IL (two Sigmas) on this page are hesitant ("either Z or Y, probably Y"). If Y wrote these IL, there is probably a psychological explanation. After all, the system which I have reconstructed is almost too difficult to be followed regularly. But I fail to see any other explanation of the curious distribution of IL-writing in this gathering.

The behaviour of X (his writing of IL on the first and last page of most gatherings) and the clever handling of the IL in qu. XXVII shows that the three scribes were not working haphazardly but according to a definite plan, conceived in one brain. This leads us to a new problem, namely to decide which of our rubricators was responsible for the project, if any of them was. We here have to consider in turn the different items of rubrication work.

The Musical Variants. Scattered through all eight gatherings are emendations and variants to the musical text. Normally these MVa are written by the same scribe who wrote the MeSi. In this connection it is instructive to see X write MVa on 227r (the only page in qu. XXIX where he wrote MeSi) and Z add them on 234v-235v, in precisely those two hymns where he wrote the MeSi. On 242v, too, the MVa are written by Z (who took over the writing of MeSi from X on 242r, while X still wrote them on 241v).

In some cases, however, on pages where Z wrote the MeSi, X nevertheless inserted the MVa (or some of them, the rest being done by Z). Let us take a look at each of these cases separately:

196v: X adds MVa to the initial neume of the first hymn; no MVa by Z. On the same page X wrote IL and MSi.

197v: X adds initialis variant to the second hymn. Besides, he wrote IL and MSi. No MVa by Z.

207v: In the first verse of the last hymn there was - in the neumator's usual dark-brown ink - a long MVa which was probably copied from the model MS. X retraced the neumes of this MVa and added one more variant (⸗) over παντων in the be-

7. On 303v (end of qu.XXXVIII), lines 10, 13, 14, and 16 have extremely clear off-prints from the rubrication on 304r. Properly speaking, however, this is not normal off-print; it is due to the special character of the parchment.

ginning of the next verse. In this hymn X wrote the IL, but not the MSi which was made by Z at the same time as he wrote the HL. No MVa by Z.

246r: The last thing X did before retiring for good was to add an initialis variant to the last hymn. He wrote the MSi, too, for the same hymn - but not the IL, which was Z's work. No MVa by Z.

189v: In the last hymn X adds a variant cadence to the first half-verse of the hymn; the other MVa are written by Z. X wrote also IL and MSi.

196r: In the last hymn X adds an initialis variant. X wrote also IL and MSi, Z the other MVa.

244v: In the first hymn X wrote the initialis variant and Z made the clarifying addition . Besides, X wrote IL and MSi, Z the other MVa.

These seven cases (where Z wrote MeSi and X all or some MVa) show that X and Z had so to speak divided the hymn between them. X's MVa are very closely connected with the beginnings of hymns. Most often they affect the very initialis, and even in the two cases 189v and 207v his corrections touch upon the first verse of each hymn. Z, on the contrary, is in the main working in the interior of the hymn.

The reason must be different ways of approach. Z seems to have added his MVa at the same time as he was inserting the MeSi - and X, when writing IL or MSi, took a glance at the opening phrase of the melody. Now, this habit of X's only makes sense if it is connected with his writing of MSi; a careful rubricator who was to write the main signature of a hymn would naturally try to control the very beginning of the melody to see that there was a correct correspondence between signature and opening phrase.

☆

The case on 244v is especially illustrative. The neumator had written the opening phrase of the first hymn as follows:

Ο α‿να‿βαλ‿λο‿με‿νοσ· φωσ ωσ ι‿‿μα‿
τι‿ον....

There is at least one error in these neumes. Most MSS have the E-signature of Plagios Deuteros and on the words ὁ ἀναβαλλόμενοσ the melody E FG a D F E D (repeated in the following phrase). With E as initial note, the melody in our MS gets its characteristic fifth leaps on b-E (instead of on a-D), unless the Oligon over the Petasthe on να is removed. All MSS that I have inspected have the reading with Petasthe only. Therefore a corrector who used a model MS for his corrections would probably choose the right, and rather obvious, correction: to erase the Oligon. X did not. He decided to use an F-signature which prepares initial D and to correct the initial neume accordingly. Are we allowed to take this to mean that X did not use a model for his corrections?

To this correction Z added , repeating the black neumes of the original melody. His reason was obviously to make the place quite clear.

This is one of the rare cases where the relative chronology of the rubricators comes out clearly; Z worked after X, and supervised his work. Some other cases of the same kind:

195v: Z adds τῆ to X's κυριακη πρωΐ;

185v, last hymn: X only wrote the abbreviation for ἦχοσ. Z supplied the missing elements of the MSi;

187r: Z adds a full intonation to X's MSi; similar cases e.g. on 194r (MSi by X) and 199v (MSi by Y);

204v: Z corrects X's MSi.

These cases show that Z had a supervising function. This is confirmed by a conclusion e silentio: I have not found one place where X or Y have corrected Z. (The HL which Z forgot on 217 sqq. - beginning of qu. XXVIII - are later additions, with brown ink).

The Medial Signatures, when not written with X-ink, are difficult to handle. According to my Vienna notes,

Z wrote the MeSi on qu. XXIV, XXV, XXVI (except the last three pages where there are no MeSi), XXVIII, and XXXI (from 242r);

X wrote those on 227r (qu. XXIX), most of qu. XXX (except on 234v hymn 2 - 235v line 6, where the MeSi were probably written by Z), and the beginning of qu. XXXI (241r-241v);

Y wrote, probably, those on 214v-215r;

The rest were written by either Z or Y. I am convinced, however, that most of them were written by Z.

From this survey we are able to make some important deductions as to the writing of MeSi - and, more especially, as to the rôle of Z:

(1) X's guest performance on 227r only makes sense if the MeSi on 225r-226v were already written before X started on 227r. This is one of the cases which show that the MeSi were part of the original plan of rubrication and not added as an afterthought; furthermore, it shows that as far as qu. XXIX is concerned all the rubrication was done before the rubrication of the next quaternio began.

(2) The opposite seems to have been the case in qu. XXIV-XXVI. Here Z's writing of all MeSi - in one sitting, as it were - separates this operation from the writing of the rest of the rubrication which was done by all three scribes in various patterns of team-work.

(3) Notice, however, that Z made the IL on 201v-207r, whereupon X wrote those on 207v. The last hymn on 207r and those on the remaining 3 pages of qu. XXVI have no MeSi. Obviously Z from 201v onwards wrote IL and MeSi pêle-mêle and stopped suddenly after having written the IL of the last hymn on 207r. But in that case the MeSi in qu. XXVI were there before X wrote the IL on 207v - in other words: a close parallel to the conclusion reached with regards to 227r.

(4) Y probably wrote the MeSi on fol. 214v-215r - but Z wrote the one in the first line of 214v. Z's behaviour shows that the MeSi were written 'hymnatim', not 'paginatim'.

(5) 234v-235v again shows hymnatim rubrication. X writes IL, MSi, MeSi, and MVa for the first hymn on 234v and IL for the second. Z takes over, writing MSi, MeSi, and MVa. In the next hymn (235r-v) Z works alone, and then (from the first hymn on 235v, line 7) X takes over again.

(6) Qu. XXIV-XXVI are not the only indication that Z at times wrote MeSi in longer stretches. Similar observations can be made 209r sqq. (probably until 214v), 217r-226v, and from 242r onwards.

Headlines and Other Rubrics. Unfortunately, my Vienna notes on these items are deficient, except as regards X. From scattered remarks and a close scrutiny of the facsimile edition, however, I have gained some kind of insight in this part of the rubrication work; I shall return to the HL in the following.

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After all these detailed descriptions of what I have seen on qu. XXIV-XXXI, I shall now attempt to reconstruct the genesis of this rubrication; that is, to draw a coherent picture of the working technique of our three rubricators. Details of my reconstruction are, of course, open to criticism - but I have no doubt that the main outlines correspond to what really happened.

1. When the rubrication of qu. XXIV started, X worked alone, copying IL, MSi, and HL on 185r-191r. Deliberately (?) he left the third MSi on 185v unfinished and did not write the HL on 190r.

2. Z came in and took over qu. XXIV. He wrote IL on 191v-192r, leaving an open space for IL to be done by X on the last verso of the gathering. He also wrote HL (from 190r) and MSi (191v - end of qu. XXIV; if possible, the MSi were made part of the HL). The ductus of the incipits which Z wrote from 190v makes it likely that they were not written at that time. It is impossible to see clearly if he wrote the MeSi, MVa, and other corrections at the same time; probably these items were done later on, when Z (in <u>one</u> sitting) finished and corrected qu. XXIV-XXVI[8]. As far as I can see, the neumes of Z's MSi on 186v and 191v-192v were written separately, at the same time as the neumes of the MeSi.

3. X writes the missing IL on 192v and starts qu. XXV, writing IL in the whole gathering and MSi from 193r until the first hymn on 198v.

4. Y appears for the first time, taking over X's writing of MSi; he writes the MSi in the rest of qu. XXV (second hymn 198v - 200v) and in the beginning of qu. XXVI (201r-203r).

8. Cf. below, number 6

5. X comes back and takes over the MSi-writing from Y (MSi on 203v-208r); before he leaves again, he writes IL on 201r (first recto of qu. XXVI).

NB. Z's writing of IL in qu. XXVI (201v-207r) must have taken place after X's writing of MSi on 203v-208r. I deduce this from the fact that he stops both IL and MeSi from 207v. This stop indicates that IL and MeSi in this part of qu. XXVI were written <u>hymnatim</u> - and it seems rather unlikely that he should have written the MeSi <u>before</u> X wrote the MSi.

6. Z now has quite a lot of work to do on qu. XXIV-XXVI: IL on 201v-207r; HL on 193r-208v; MSi (together with HL) on 203r, 207v, 208v; MeSi; MVa; corrections; other rubrics.

Curiously enough, 207v-208v are left unfinished (no MeSi and MVa; no neumes to the last MSi on 208v). This enables us to see in which order Z finished qu. XXIV-XXVI:

(a) HL (+MSi) and other rubrics;
(b) MeSi until 201r;
(c) IL and MeSi <u>hymnatim</u> 201v-207r.

NB. The common stop of MeSi and IL from 207v must be a mistake; for a possible explanation, see below, footnote 9.

7. As already shown, the writing of IL in qu. XXVII was done by all of the rubricators <u>simultaneously</u>; X, Y, and Z were all present in the <u>scriptorium</u> at the time. I imagine that Z and Y by chance came to the room at the same time and found X writing the missing IL in qu. XXVI (207v-208v). As leader of the team, Z seized the opportunity of having both helpers at his disposal and instructed them as to the joint writing of IL in qu. XXVII. According to this instruction Y started the IL on the exterior <u>bifolium</u> of qu. XXVII - not X, who was still working on qu. XXVI![9] After that, X Y and Z collaborate on the IL 210r-215v.

8. As Y writes MSi <u>and</u> MeSi on 214v-215r, the MeSi until 214r must already have been made at that time. Hence Z had qu. XXVII before Y worked on 214v. By a similar reasoning X can be shown to have had qu. XXVII before Y (because he wrote the MSi until 214r). I therefore suggest the following working scheme:

(a) Y writes MSi 209r-210v;
(b) X writes MSi 210v-214r;
(c) Z finishes (MeSi etc.) up to 214r;
(d) Y writes MSi and MeSi 214v-215r;
(e) Z finishes qu. XXVII (-216v).

9. The rubrication of qu. XXVIII begins almost like that of qu. XXVI: Y starts with MSi (217r-218r); X takes over (MSi 218v-224r).

NB. From 220r X writes also the HL. As I have already mentioned, there were no HL in the beginning of qu. XXVIII - the HL now found being later additions, in brown ink. X's behaviour cannot be understood, unless there was an agreement between X and Z that Z should take care of the (difficult?) HL and rubrics for the whole period of Lent[10]. For some unknown reason Z never wrote the HL on 217r-219v, as he ought to have done.

10. Z finishes the MSi of qu.XXVIII (224v) and next writes IL and MeSi, leaving - as usual - the first recto of the gathering (217r) to be done later by X. Z's writing of IL, however, stops after 222r; the last pages of qu. XXVIII (222v-224v) have IL written by X.

NB. I can see no traces of a break in the writing of the MeSi in qu. XXVIII. Combined with the demonstrable stop in Z's writing of IL after 222r, this shows that Z cannot here have followed his working habits from folios 201v-207r (where his IL and MeSi seemed to have been made <u>hymnatim</u>). In analogy with Z's technique from qu. XXIV-XXVI (where the MeSi were part of his later handling of the manuscript), it is most likely that he wrote the MeSi in qu. XXVIII when finishing this gathering + part of qu. XXIX (until 226v). I fail to see why he did not insert the missing HL on 217r-219v at the same time.

11. X finishes the IL in qu. XXVIII (217r and 222v-224v) and goes on with the beginning of qu. XXIX (IL + MSi 225r).

12. Y writes the IL of the rest of the gathering (225v-232r), leaving the last verso for X - according to their usual practice.

13. Z's next period of work must have comprised the writing of MeSi (probably from qu. XXVII, 215v, where Y stopped) and MSi + HL on 225v-226v. From 225v he may have worked <u>hymnatim</u>.

NB. X's rubrication of 227r, including MeSi and HL, guarantees that Z's work until 226v had already been done.

14. For a very short time (only on 227r) X takes Z's place and continues his work. Was Z otherwise engaged?

15. Z comes back and resumes his work, until the end of qu. XXIX (227v-232v).

NB. Using X's MeSi on 233r sqq. as

9. We have thus explained why X for once did <u>not</u> write IL on the first recto and the last verso of a gathering. At the same time we can explain why Z did not write the MeSi (and did not revise) 207v-208v: in his hurry he simply forgot that he had not finished qu.XXVI (the day before?).

10. X, in principle, wrote no HL on 188v-219v. A list of the HL in this part of the MS is given in the facsimile edition (MMB I, pp.32-33).

a criterion (analogous with the previous observations, nos. 8 and 13) I conclude that Z has finished qu. XXIX before X goes on with qu. XXX.

16. X again works alone, from the beginning of qu. XXX (233r-234v).

NB. The last MSi on 234v being the first thing Z wrote when he replaced X, we can be sure that X either worked <u>hymnatim</u> (beginning his work on each hymn with the IL) or that he wrote some IL ahead before he did the rest of the rubrication.

17. Z takes over X's work from the last hymn on 234v until the hymn which ends 235v line 6. Probably the same working technique as X's.

18. X resumes his work, finishes qu. XXX (235v line 7 - 240v) and goes on with qu. XXXI.

Three details of interest can be mentioned in qu. XXXI:

(a) From 242r Z takes over the writing of MeSi. I cannot understand this unmotivated stop in X's work.

(b) Z wrote IL and MSi for the first hymn on 245v. Obviously X overlooked the fact that a new hymn began here - and Z saw it in his more painstaking part of the work.

(c) When Z took over X's work for good (bottom of 246r) X had already written the MSi and an initial MVa for the last hymn; Z added the IL. X seems here to have worked <u>hymnatim</u>, starting each hymn with the MSi.

✡

For practical reasons I have until now used the symbols X, Y, and Z to denote the three rubricators. Behind one of these letters we expect to find Johannes Dalassenos. From the behaviour of our three scribes, it is Z - the supervisor - who ought to be Dalassenos. A palæographical comparison between the subscription on 321r and Z's HL and other rubrics in qu. XXIV-XXXI shows the identity beyond any doubt, even though the subscription's use of a less formal hand makes the comparison somewhat difficult.

<u>The rubrication in the rest of the manuscript.</u>

In the parts of D where X did not use his characteristic ink - before and after folios 185-246 - it is more difficult to form coherent and detailed ideas of the rubrication work. Moreover, my notes from Vienna - on which the present study is based - reflect only too clearly the weakness of the human mind: they become more and more lapidary and inadequate towards the end.

It is possible, however, to extract from my notes a few observations which throw further light on the question of collaboration between the rubricators.

A palæographical analysis shows that the hymn texts of the Menologion were also written by Johannes Dalassenos[11] - apart from a few passages all of which "semblent être de la main d'une même personnage (un autre moine du couvent)"[12]. A great many parallels in details of rubrication show that Dalassenos acted as rubricator here as well as on folios 185-246. See, for instance, HL on folios 5r, 6v, 22r, 35r, 125v, 167v and IL on 23v (~ 203r) and 58v (~ 204r).

The best place to demonstrate the existence of another rubricator besides Dalassenos is folios 134v-143v,

11. Cf. MMB I, Préface, p.20: "l'écriture garde fidèlement son caractère d'un bout à l'autre du volume".

12. ibid., p.20, note 2, where a complete list is given.

one of the parts of the Menologion which are provided with MeSi[13]. On 134r we find undoubtedly the hand of Dalassenos - shown by <u>ductus</u> as well as by the good quality of his red ink - but on 134v sqq. quite another colour of rubrication ink can be seen, even in the facsimile edition.

The new ink in itself is no proof; the rubrication on these folios might equally well have been done by Dalassenos, dipping for the moment in a new inkstand with ink of an inferior quality. However, a whole set of minute details shows with certainty that the new ink means a new rubricator:

(a) The change of ink is coupled with a change in the treatment of MeSi; on the preceding folios (from 97r) there were no MeSi at all (and no MVa).

(b) Dalassenos usually writes the MSi in two stages, using a specially cut pen for their neumes; at times he uses his 'text-pen' for the whole MSi. On folios 134v sqq. the MSi are written in one stage, with a 'neume-pen'.

(c) On the preceding folios most of Dalassenos's MSi consist only of letter-numeral and neumes. From 134v they all start with the abbreviation ηͯ (= ἦχοσ).

I have counted the occurrences of these two equivalent types of MSi (and MInt) in the whole MS - as quickly as possible, hence my figures are probably not quite exact. Of the type with the ηͯ-abbreviation ("type A") there are 879 cases, of the type without the ηͯ-abbreviation ("type B") there are 544; the <u>ratio</u> between A and B is thus approximately 13:8.

In some gatherings there are exceedingly few MSi of type B:

Gathering		B
IA (81-88)		1 B
IB (89-96)		0 B
IH (136-143)		1 B
XXIV-XXXV (185-280)	. .	13 B
XL (312-319)		3 B
XLI (320-325)		0 B

On the other hand, the B type prevails in the following gatherings:

Gathering	A	B
Γ (17-24)	2 A	27 B
Δ (25-32)	7	23
E (33-40)	10	22
ϛ (41-48)	12	15
Z (49-56)	6	21
H (57-64)	8	17
Θ (65-72)	6	18
IΓ (97-103) . . .	15	18
IΔ (104-110) . .	7	33
IE (111-119) . .	13	22
Iϛ (120-127) . .	6	32
IZ (128-135) . .	5	27
IΘ (144-151) . .	8	27
K (152-159) . .	9	26
KA (160-167) . .	7	27
KB (168-175) . .	7	20
KΓ (176-184) . .	14	15
XXXVII (288-295)	17	19
XXXVIII (296-303)	24	35

(d) The HL on 134v-143v are written with a pen which is not so broad as the one Dalassenos used on the preceding and following pages; and their style is decidedly less formal than that of the usual Dalassenos HL in this part of the MS. Nevertheless, the general resemblance of these HL and the HL and incipits in the Triodion (e.g. 190v sqq., 229v) obliges us to withhold any definite conclusion as to the identity of the HL scribe on 134v sqq.

There are several interesting details in the behaviour of the two rubricators. One is the fact that the MeSi stop abruptly from fol. 144r, i.e. at the beginning of gathering XIX. This is not the only place in the manuscript where MeSi disappear or appear at the beginning of a new gathering[14]. The phenomenon

13. Cf. above, p.136, note 116.

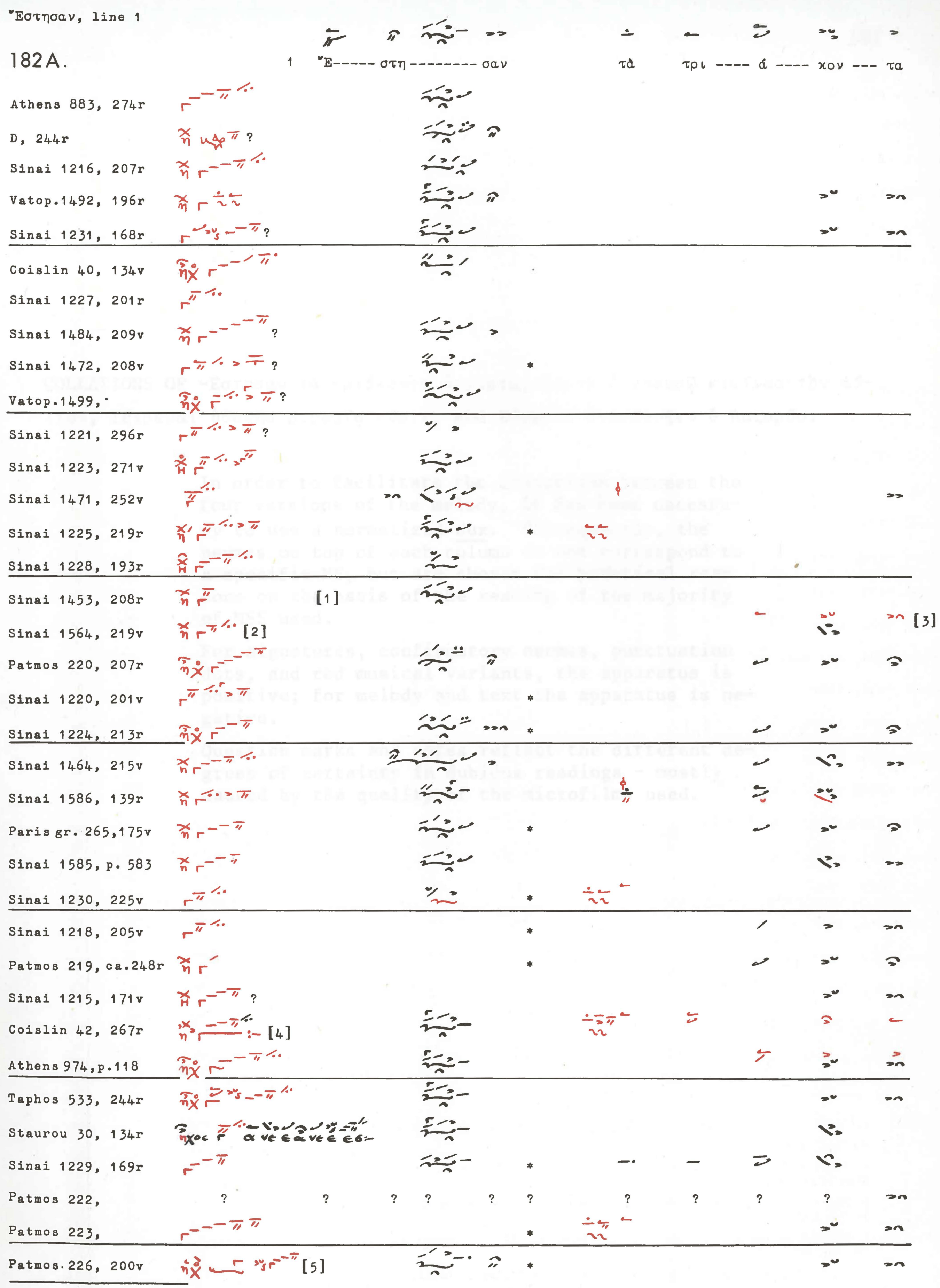
14. Cf. above, p.136.

Appendix A. The Rubricators of the Vienna Stikherarion

can probably be explained in different ways, all of which have to be based on the fact that the rubricators worked on loose gatherings. Thus it seems possible that the two men worked simultaneously, Dalassenos using a model MS without MeSi, the other rubricator a model with MeSi. It is less likely - but not quite impossible - that the sudden appearance of MeSi on 134v-143v reflects private ideas on the part of this particular scribe (in which case nothing can be said about the number of model MSS).

Similarly, the different treatment of the MSi (cf. above, p. 179, c) may reflect either the habits of the two scribes using the same model MS or differences in their respective model MSS[15].

15. For further discussion of these problems, see above, pp.136-137.



NOTES: 1. Sinai 1453 omits first group of neumes; cf. next hymn in the MS, where the corresponding group has been added by rubricator.
2. The MSi in Sinai 1564 is followed by an illegible remark in red ink.
3. The red variant in Sinai 1564 over -άκοντα cannot be read with certainty.
4. Coislin 42 has in margin, with extremely thin and black writing: (?)
5. Same hand?

can probably be explained in different ways, all of which have to be based on the fact that the rubricators worked on loose gatherings. Thus it seems possible that the two men worked simultaneously, Dalassenos using a model MS without MeSi, the other rubricator a model with MeSi. It is less likely - but not quite impossible - that the sudden appearance of MeSi on 134v-143v reflects private ideas on the part of this particular scribe (in which case nothing can be said about the number of model MSS).

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15. For further discussion of these problems, see above, pp.136-137.

COLLATIONS OF ῞Εστησαν τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, Κύριε ὁ σταυρῷ κτείνασ τὸν δόλιον, Τέτρωμαι ἡδονῆσ ρομφαίᾳ κύριε, and Σήμερον ἐναπέψυξεν ὁ Λαζαρόσ.

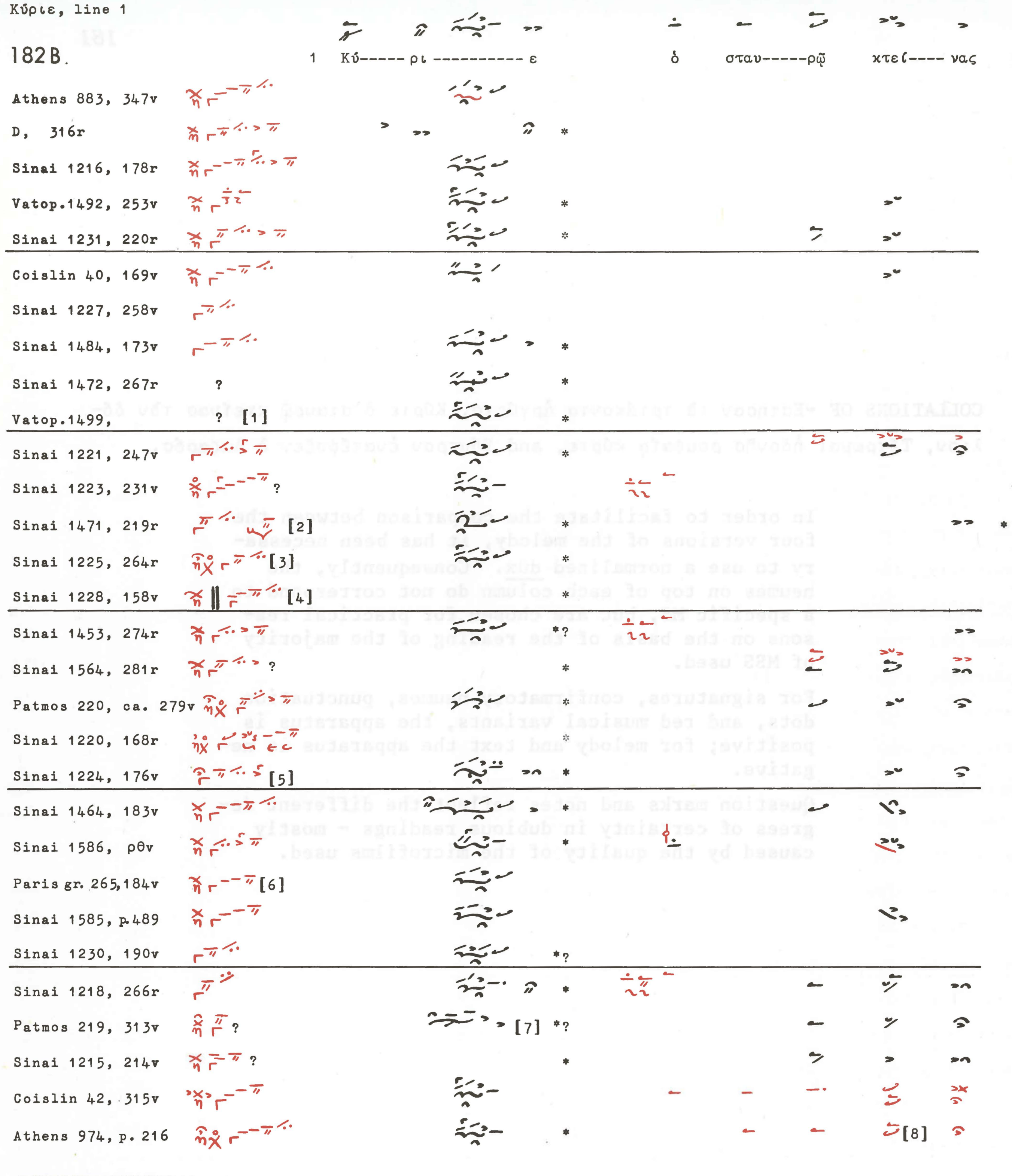
In order to facilitate the comparison between the four versions of the melody, it has been necessary to use a normalized dux. Consequently, the neumes on top of each column do not correspond to a specific MS, but are chosen for practical reasons on the basis of the reading of the majority of MSS used.

For signatures, confirmatory neumes, punctuation dots, and red musical variants, the apparatus is positive; for melody and text the apparatus is negative.

Question marks and notes reflect the different degrees of certainty in dubious readings - mostly caused by the quality of the microfilms used.

Κύριε, line 1

182B.

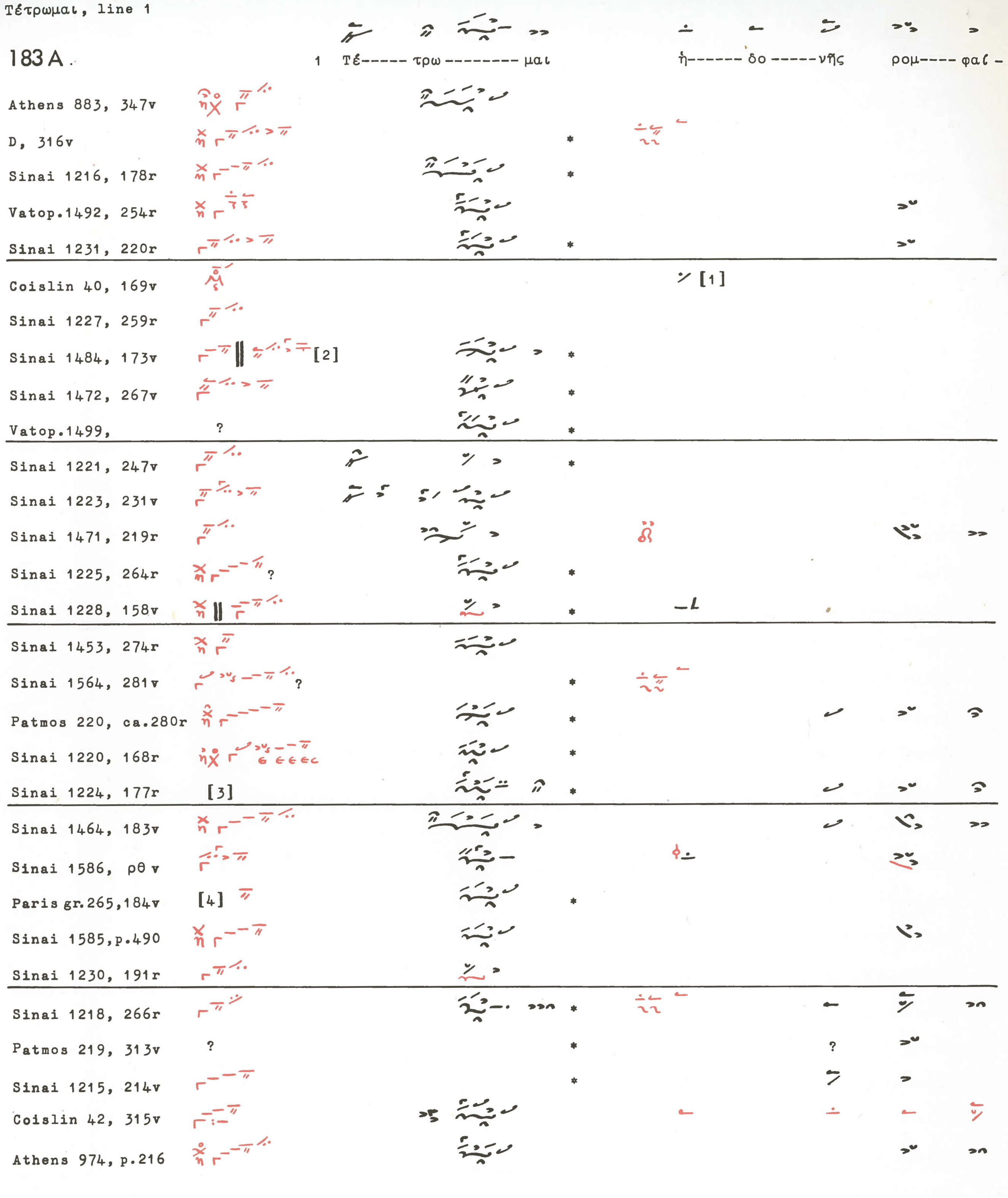


NOTES:

1. My microfilm of Vatopedi 1499 is very pale; the red ink can hardly be seen.
2. Same hand.
3. Between the two groups of tail-neumes in Sinai 1225 there is perhaps a superfluous Apostrophos.
4. The vertical double-stroke separates elements which in the MSS are written in two lines.
5. The end of the MSi in Sinai 1224 has been cut off; ⫽ should probably be supplied.
6. There is perhaps a Kentema on top of the last Oligon in Paris. gr. 265.
7. The neumes on -ριε in Patmos 219 cannot be seen clearly, due to the bad quality of my microfilm.
8. The red variant in Athens 974 on κτεί- cannot be read with certainty.

Τέτρωμαι, line 1

183A.



NOTES:

1. This 'Oxeia' in Coislin 40 is probably nothing but a mis-shaped Oligon.
2. Both signatures in Sinai 1484 are written by the same hand. The second of them cannot be read with certainty.
3. MSi in Sinai 1224 cut off.
4. Beginning of MSi in Paris gr. 265 cut off.

Σήμερον, line 1

183 B.

1 Σή------με---------ρον ἐν----- απ -------έ------ ψυ -----ξεν

Athens 883, 352r

D, 320v

Sinai 1216, 189v

Vatop.1492, 257v

Sinai 1231, 222v

Coislin 40, 172r

Sinai 1227, 262v

Sinai 1484, 189r

Sinai 1472, 271r

Vatop.1499,

Sinai 1221, 268r [1]

Sinai 1223, 248r [2]

Sinai 1471, 231v

Sinai 1225, 271r

Sinai 1228, 174r

Sinai 1453, 277v

Sinai 1564, 285v

Patmos 220, ca.283r

Sinai 1220, 181v

Sinai 1224, 192r

Sinai 1464, 196v

Sinai 1586, 115r

Paris gr. 265,198v [3]

Sinai 1585,p.525

Sinai 1230, 205r

Sinai 1218, 270r

Patmos 219, ca.318r

Sinai 1215, 217v

Coislin 42, 320v

Athens 974, p.222

Sinai 1229, 206v

Patmos 226, 273r

NOTES:

1. No MSi in Sinai 1221.
2. The rest of the MSi in Sinai 1223 is illegible.
3. MSi in Paris gr. 265 partly cut off.

Ἔστησαν, lines 1-2

184 A.

ἀρ----- γύ----- ρι -- α 2 τὴν τι ---- μὴν τοῦ τε-------τι- μη - μέ - νου

883

D

1216

1492

1231

40

1227

1484

1472

1499

1221

1223

1471

1225

1228

1453

1564

220

1220

1224

1464

1586

265

1585

1230

1218

219

1215

42

974

533

30 [1]

1229

222

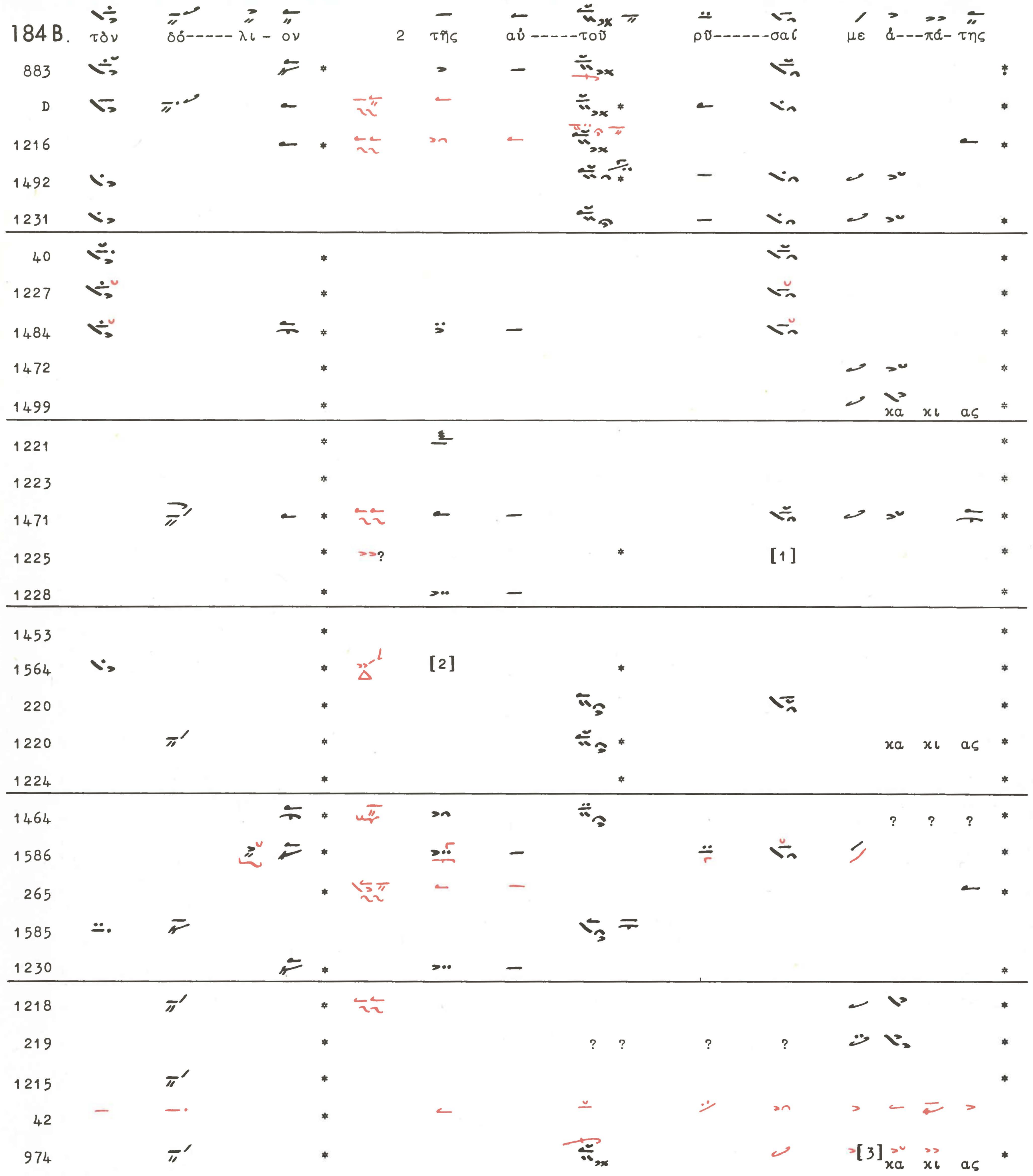
223

226 [2]

NOTES:

1. No MeSi in Staurou 30 before line 2, but space of about 5 letters left open (for MeSi?).
2. Reading of Patmos 226 uncertain, perhaps

Κύριε, lines 1-2



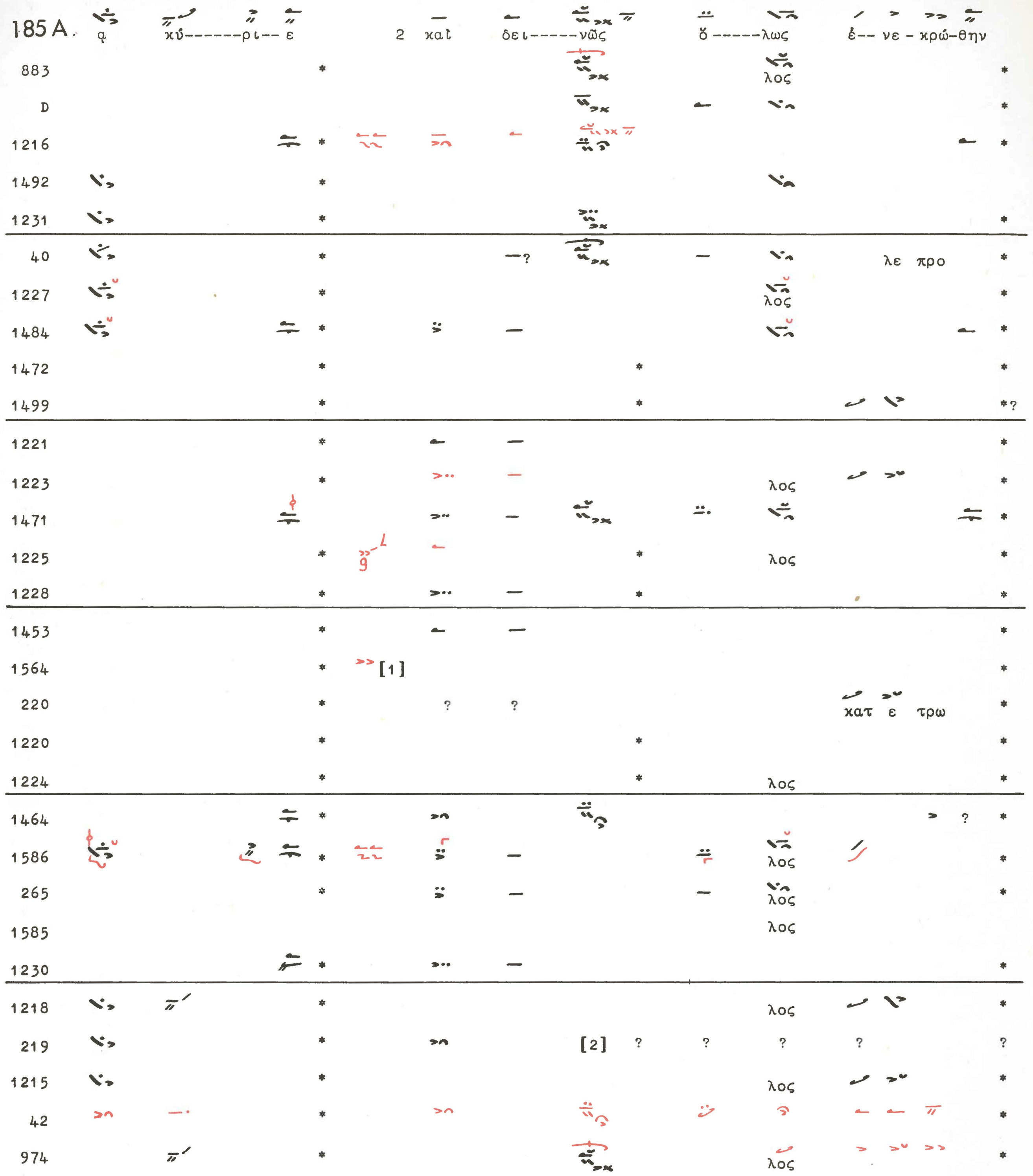
NOTES:

1. Sinai 1225 cannot be read with certainty on -σαί με, but the neumes seem to be

2. There is perhaps a confirmatory Ison in Sinai 1564.

3. The red variant in Athens 974 on με looks like a Tzakisma.

Τέτρωμαι, lines 1-2



NOTES:

1. The rest of the MeSi in Sinai 1564 illegible. Perhaps faint traces of a confirmatory neume.

2. Reading uncertain in Patmos 219. Perhaps ..... (cf. Sinai 1216, 1464, and Coislin 42 var.).

Σήμερον, lines 1-2

185B. ὁ Λά-----ζα-ρος 2 καὶ θρη----νεῖ τοῦ ----τον Βη---θα-νί---α

MS	
883	[1]
D	
1216	
1492	
1231	
40	
1227	
1484	
1472	
1499	
1221	
1223	
1471	
1225	
1228	
1453	? ? * ? ? ? ?
1564	
220	
1220	[2]
1224	
1464	
1586	*?
265	
1585	
1230	
1218	
219	? ? ? [3]*
1215	
42	
974	
1229	
226	

NOTES:

1. In Athens 883 there is perhaps a red Apostrophos (?) over the Oxeia on Βη-.
2. End of line in Sinai 1220, hence no punctuation dot.
3. The neume - or neumes - over Piasma in Patmos 219 cannot be read.

Ἔστησαν, line 3

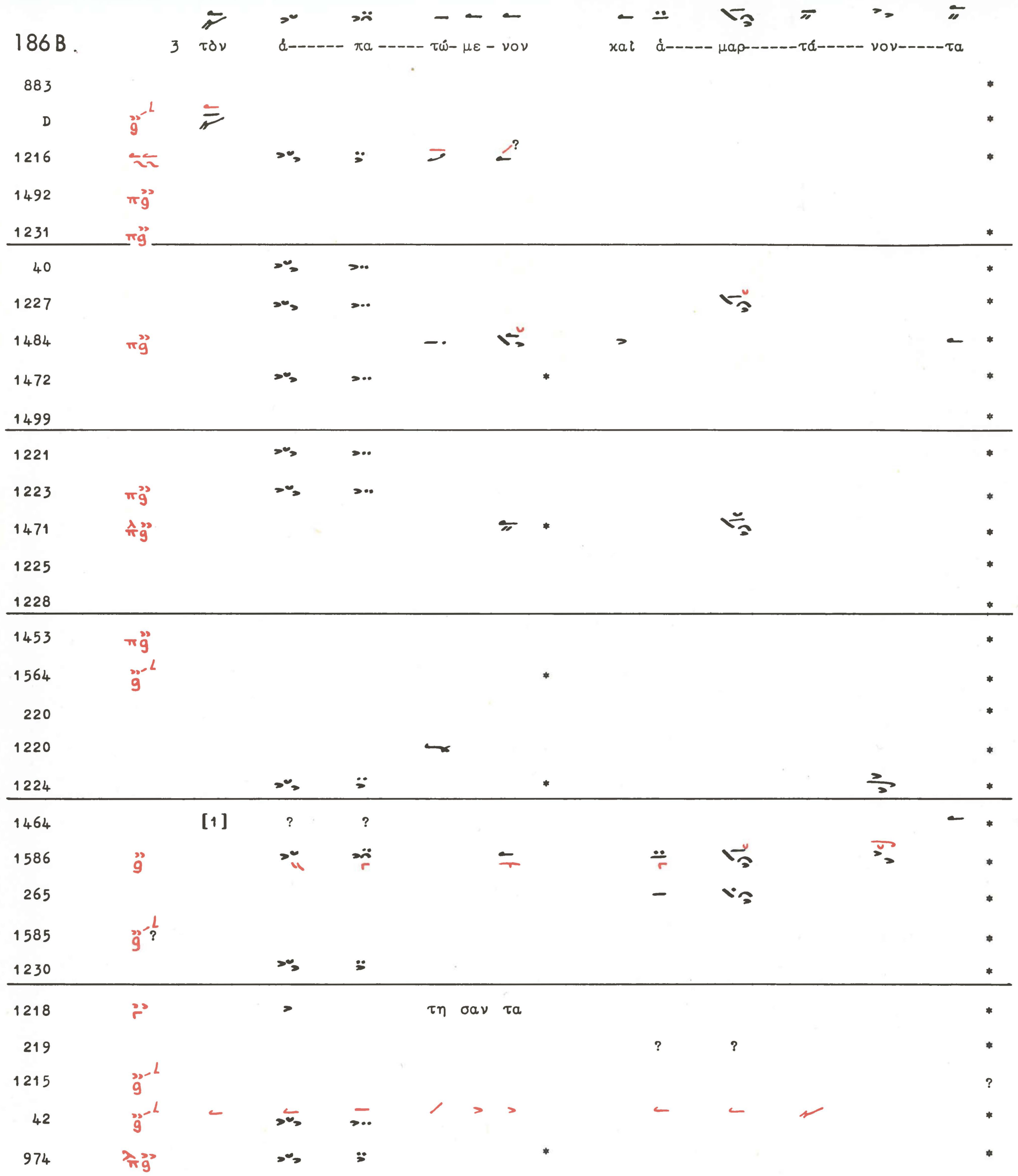
186A. 3 ὃν ἐ------τι------μή- σαν -το ἀ--πὸ υἱ------ῶν Ἰσ--ρα--ήλ

MS	
883	
D	
1216	?
1492	
1231	
40	
1227	
1484	?
1472	
1499	
1221	
1223	
1471	
1225	? ?
1228	
1453	
1564	*?
220	
1220	
1224	
1464	
1586	?
265	
1585	[1]
1230	
1218	
219	
1215	?
42	
974	
533	
30	
1229	
222	? ? ? (sic) ? ? ? ?
223	*
226	? ? ?

NOTES

1. The letter-numeral of the MeSi before line 3 in Sinai 1585 may just as well be Delta.

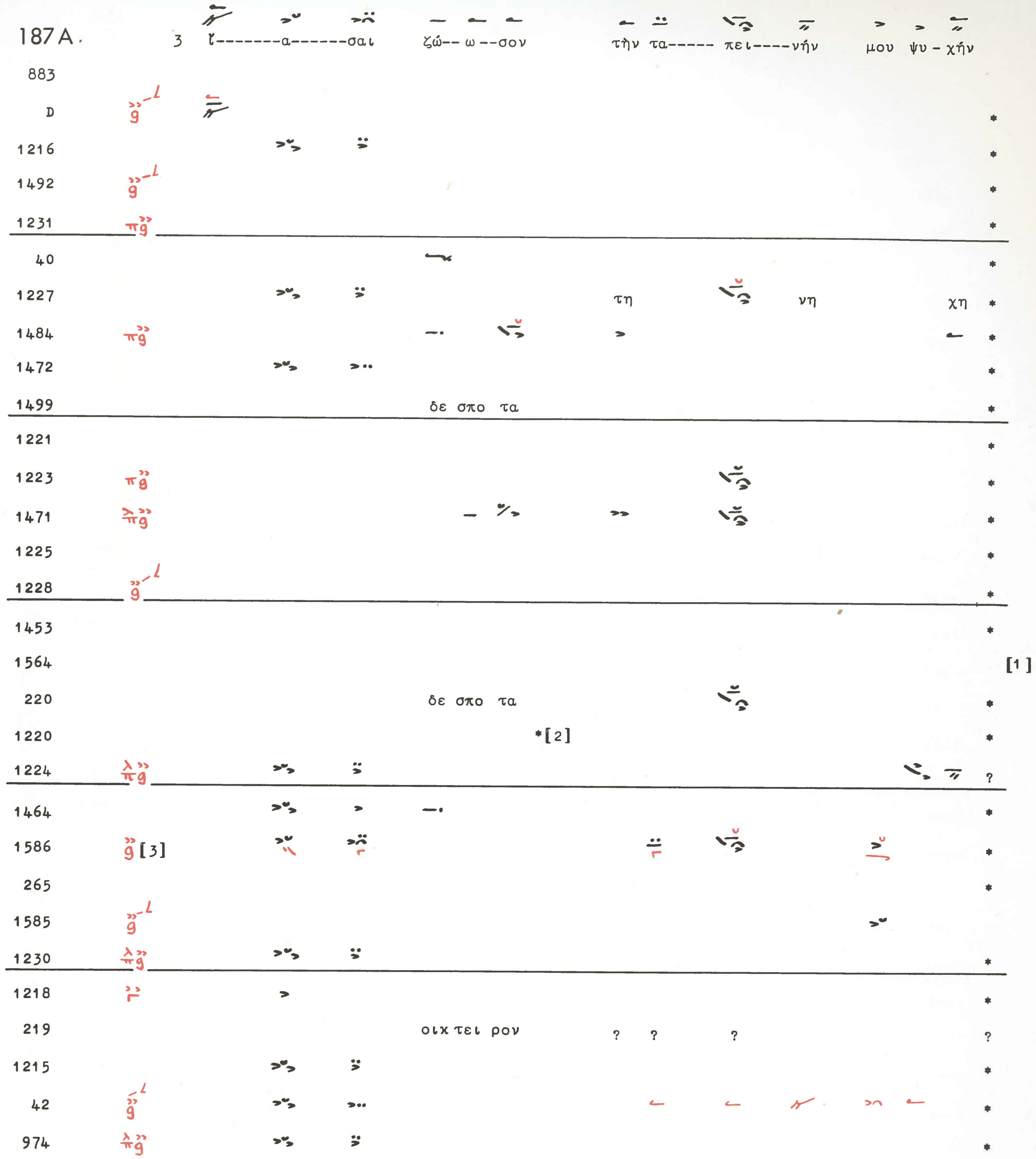
Κύριε, line 3



NOTES

1. In Sinai 1464 some illegible words are inserted over the line; under these the melody is written post correcturam; the melody ante correcturam cannot be read. The melody post correcturam has Petasthe instead of Kratema on the first syllable, and no Tzakisma on the second syllable.

Τέτρωμαι, line 3



NOTES:

1. End of line in Sinai 1564; no dot.

2. The dot in Sinai 1220 seems to be a later addition.

3. The rest of this MeSi in Sinai 1586 is smeared and illegible (at the top perhaps an Oligon?).

Σήμερον, line 3

187 B. 3 ὃν ὁ σω------τὴρ ἡ--μῶν ἐ--γεί-----ρεις ἐκ τῶν νε-κρῶν

MS	Variants
883	ρας
D	*
1216	*
1492	* γε *
1231	*
40	γε *
1227	*
1484	γε *
1472	* *
1499	γε *
1221	[1] *
1223	*
1471	[2] *
1225	γε *
1228	γε *
1453	*
1564	* γε *
220	? ? ?
1220	γε *
1224	* ρων *
1464	*
1586	* γε *
265	*
1585	ρας
1230	? γε *
1218	ρει *
219	? ρη? *
1215	? *
42	*
974	*
1229	* *
226	ρας ? *

NOTES: 1. Sinai 1221 had γει <u>ante correcturam</u>; corrected into γε.
2. Added in margin in Sinai 1471.

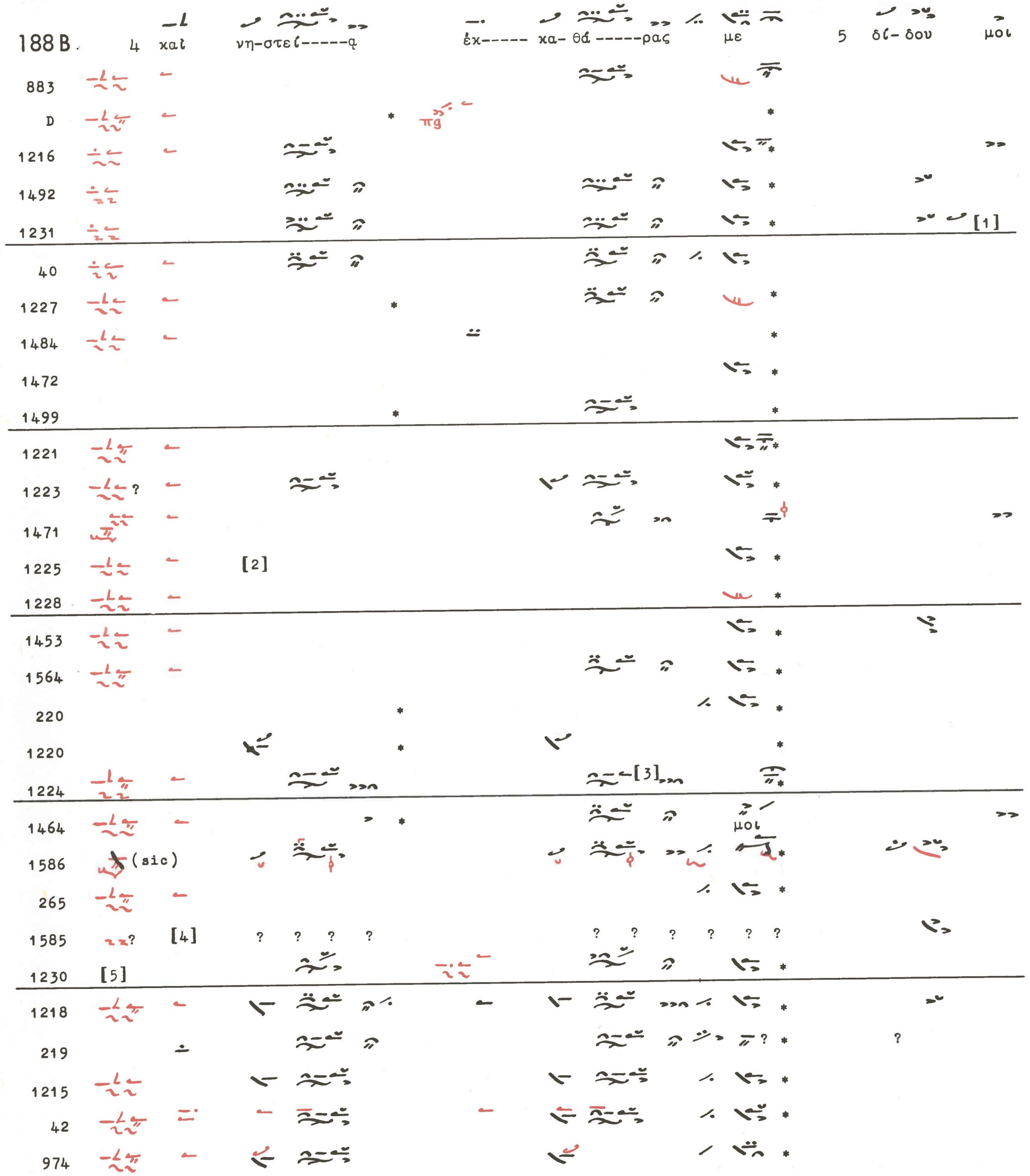
Ἔστησαν, lines 4-5

188 A. 4 Γρη-----γο- ρεῖ ---- τε καὶ προσ-εύ----- χε ---- σθε 5 ἵ --να μὴ

MS	Variants
883	*
D	* *
1216	
1492	*
1231	(sic)
40	
1227	*
1484	* *
1472	*
1499	*
1221	
1223	* ? *
1471	*
1225	*
1228	* *
1453	* *
1564	? ? *
220	? * *
1220	* *
1224	
1464	?
1586	
265	[1]
1585	
1230	*
1218	* *
219	? ? ? *
1215	? *
42	
974	*
533	* *
30	*
1229	* ?
222	? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? *
223	* ?
226	* ? *

NOTES: 1. Beginning of MeSi before line 4 cut off in Paris gr. 265.

Κύριε, lines 4-5



NOTES:

1. It is impossible to see whether the Petasthe (?) in Sinai 1231 belongs to the preceding or the following syllable.

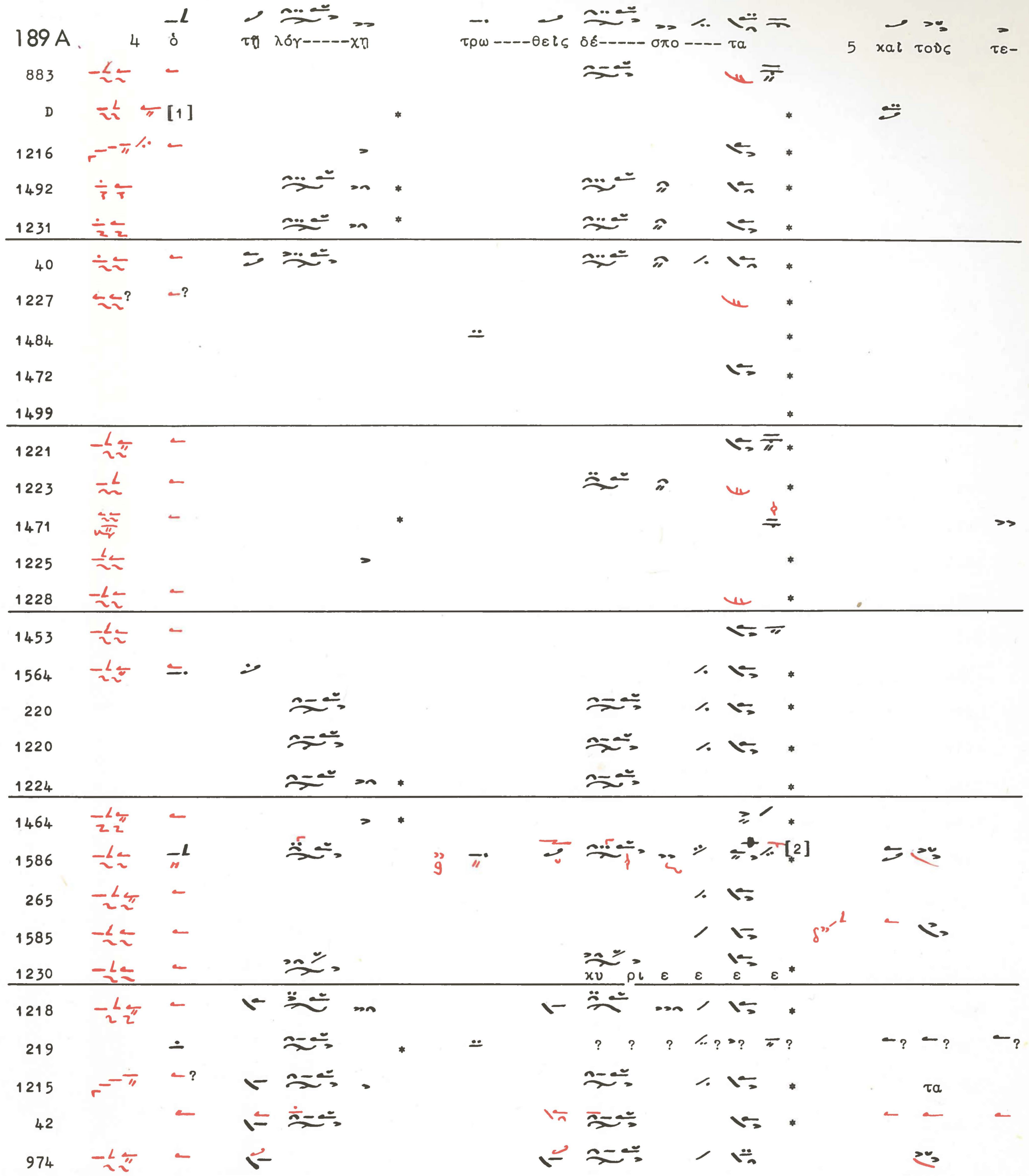
2. Illegible variant on νη- in Sinai 1225.

3. The end of this group is cut off in Sinai 1224; there may have been a Tzakisma.

4. Most neumes in line 4 cut off in Sinai 1585 (upper margin).

5. No MeSi in Sinai 1230. Cut off?

Τέτρωμαι, lines 4-5

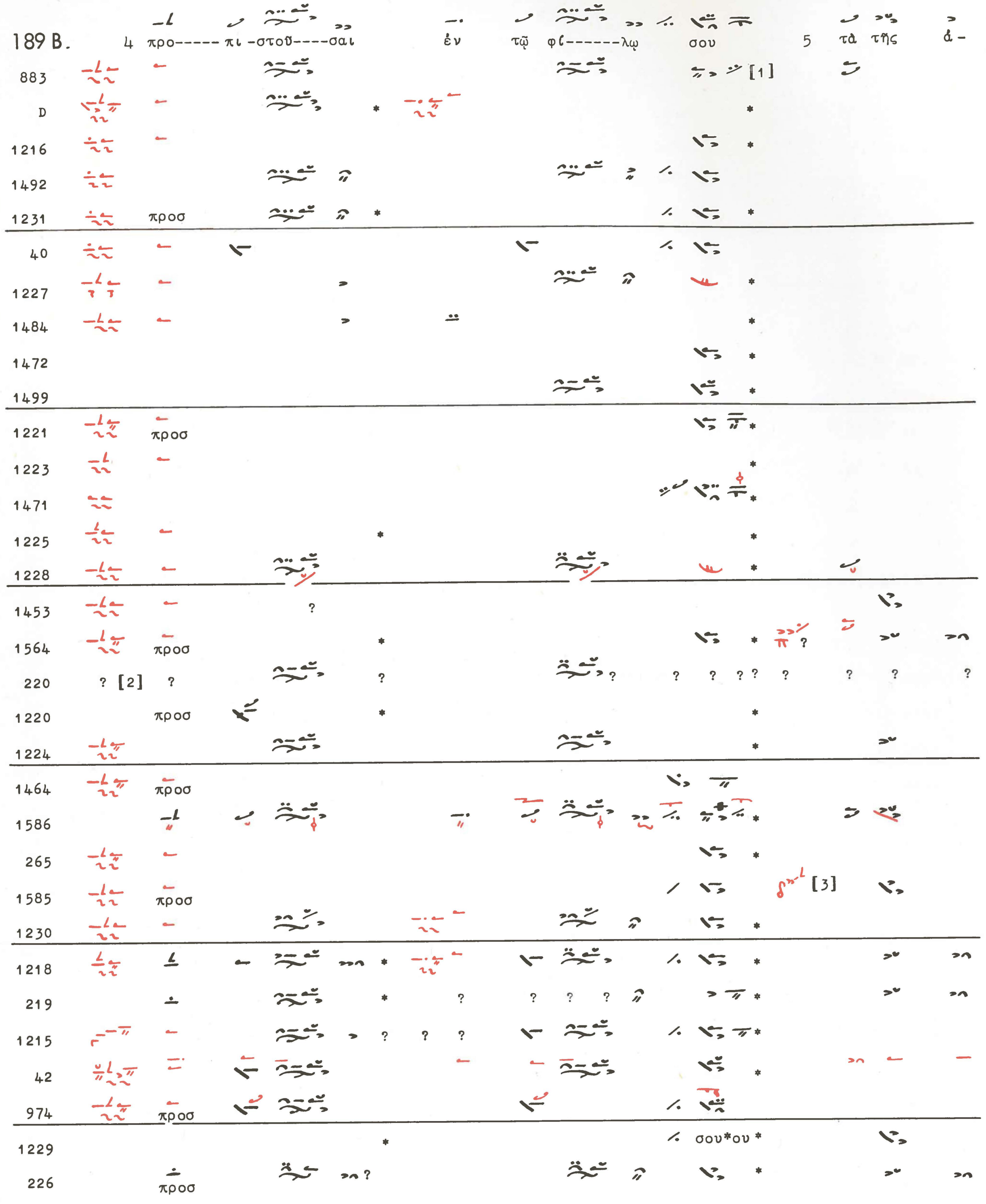


NOTES:

1. The red Ison in D's MeSi serves also as confirmatory Ison, cf. the facsimile edition.

2. The black Theta and the red Apoderma in Sinai 1586 cannot be read with certainty.

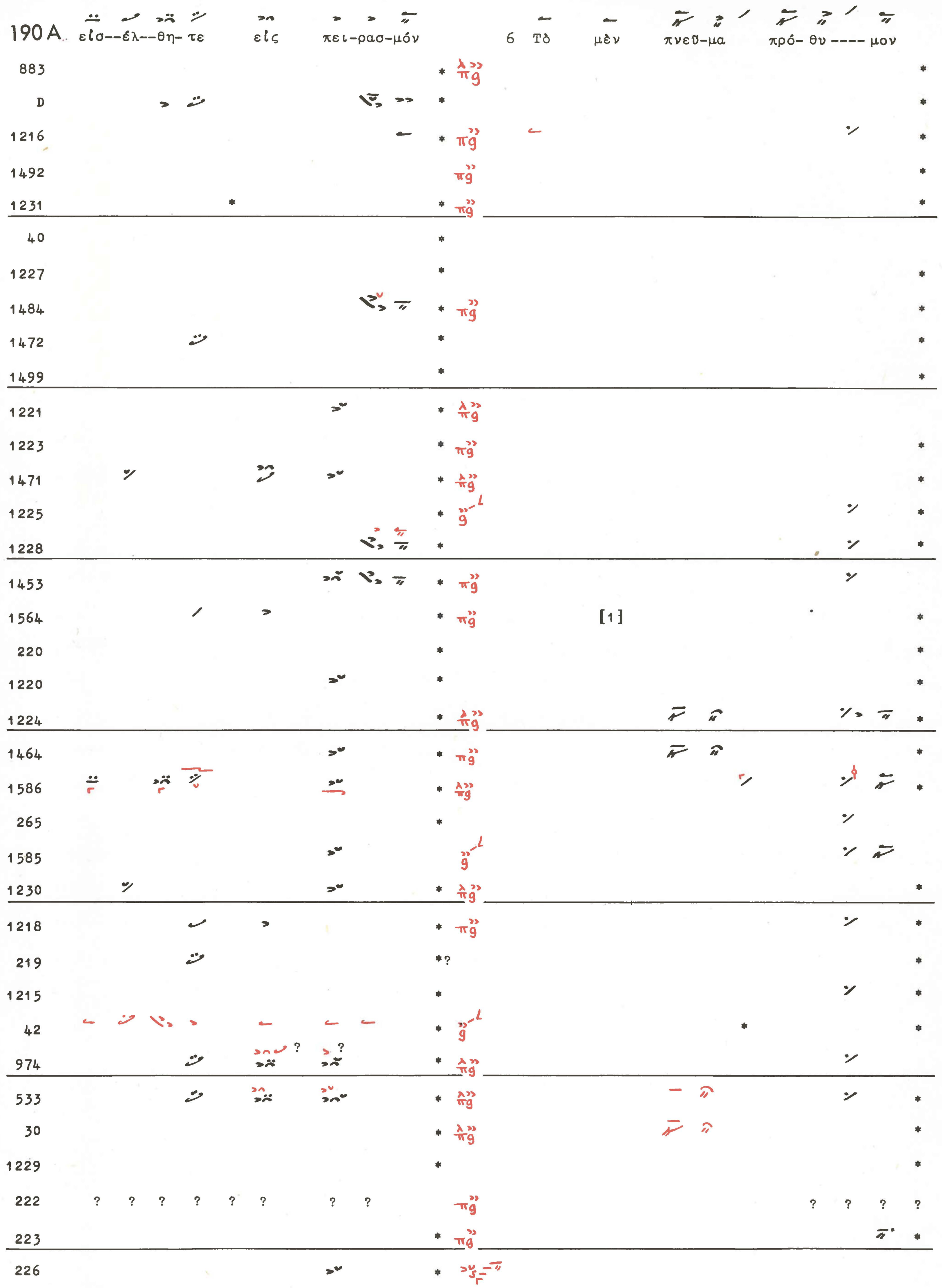
Σήμερον , lines 4-5



NOTES:

1. Two auxiliary red signs in Athens 883 cannot be read with certainty.
2. The whole text of line 4 as well as several neumes cannot be seen on my photograph of Patmos 220. The same applies to the neumes in line 5.
3. The Hypsile of the MeSi in Sinai 1585 is cut off.

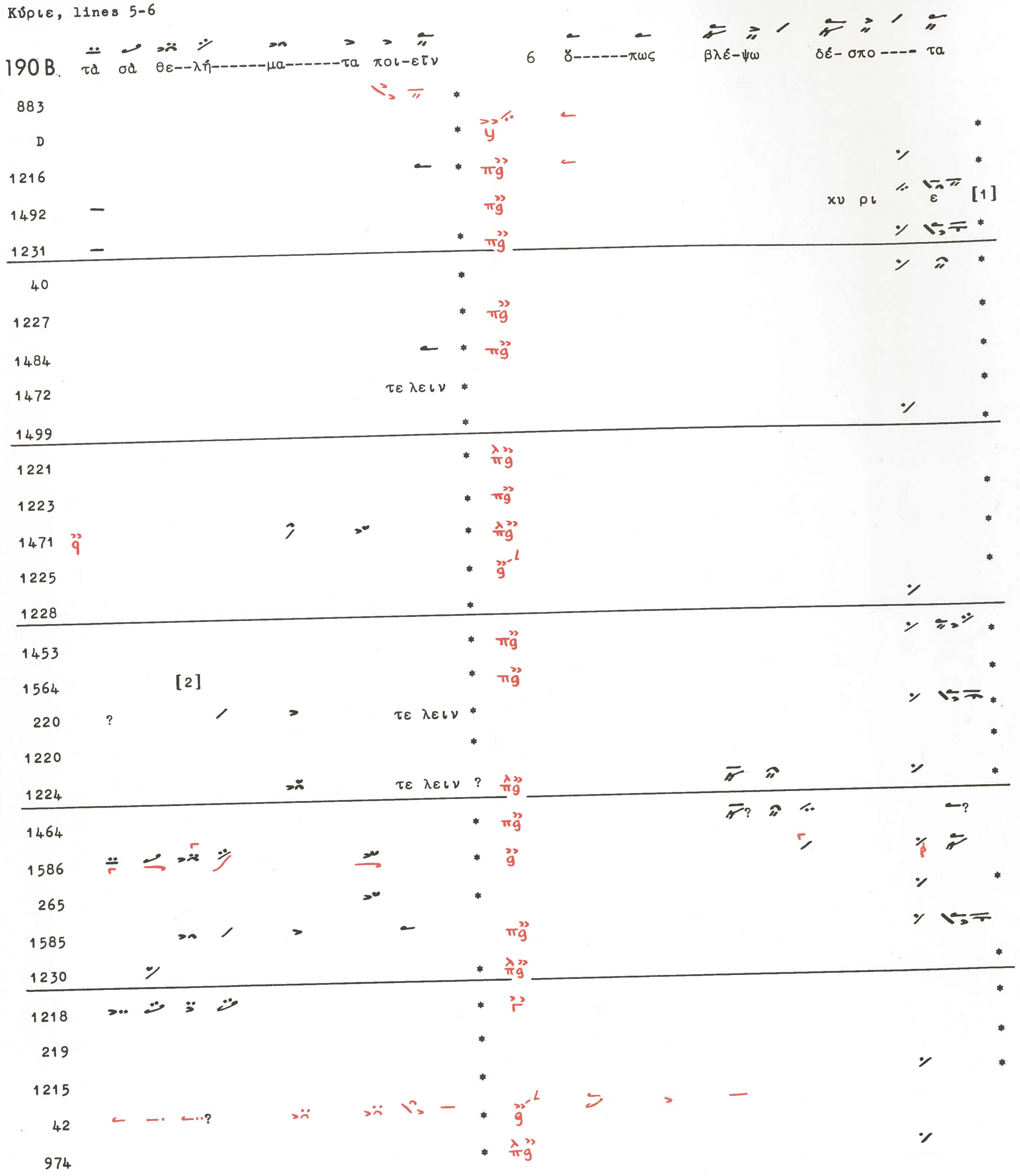
Ἔστησαν,lines 5-6



NOTES:

1. This syllable was added by the neumator, over the line.

Κύριε, lines 5-6

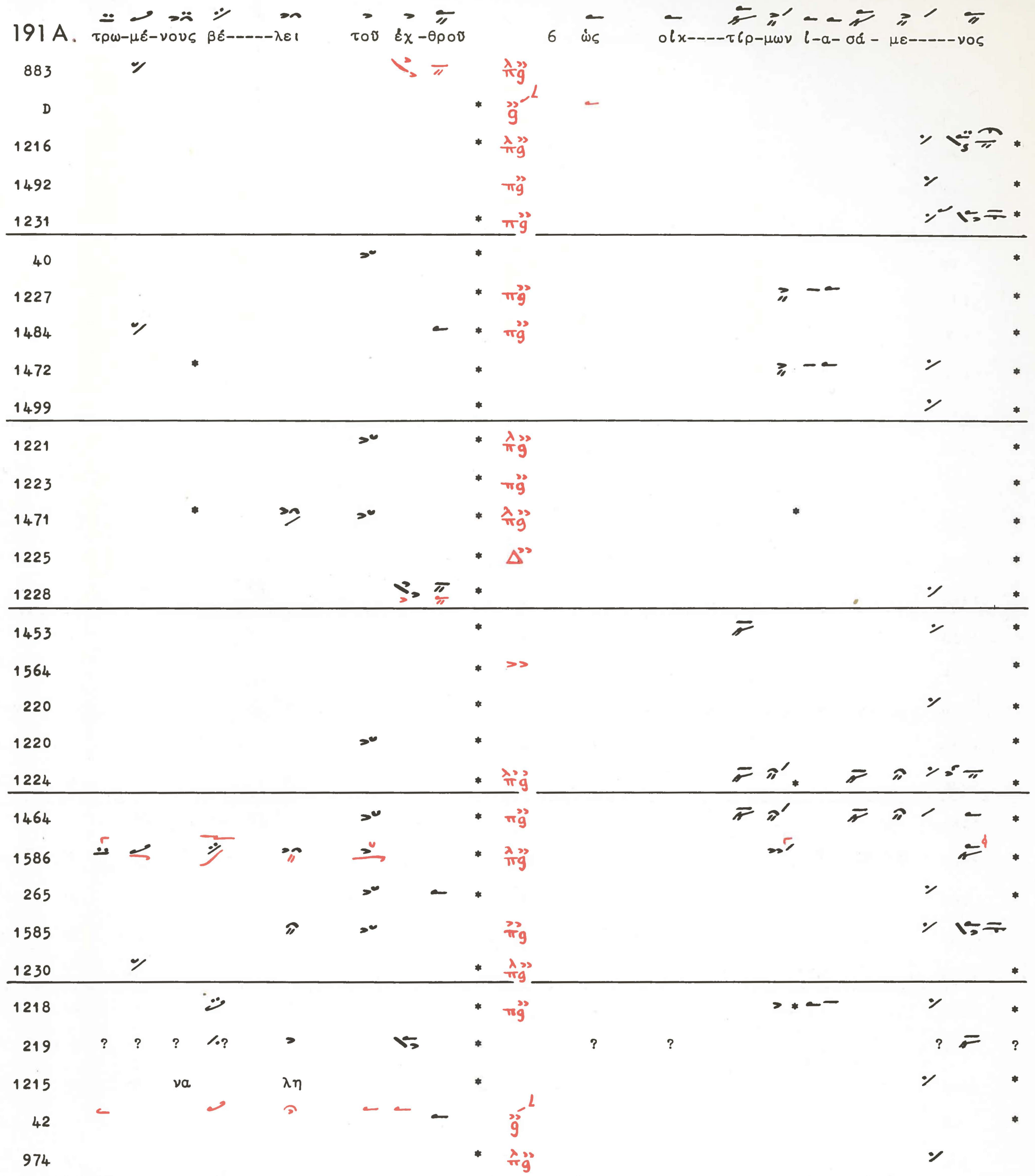


NOTES:

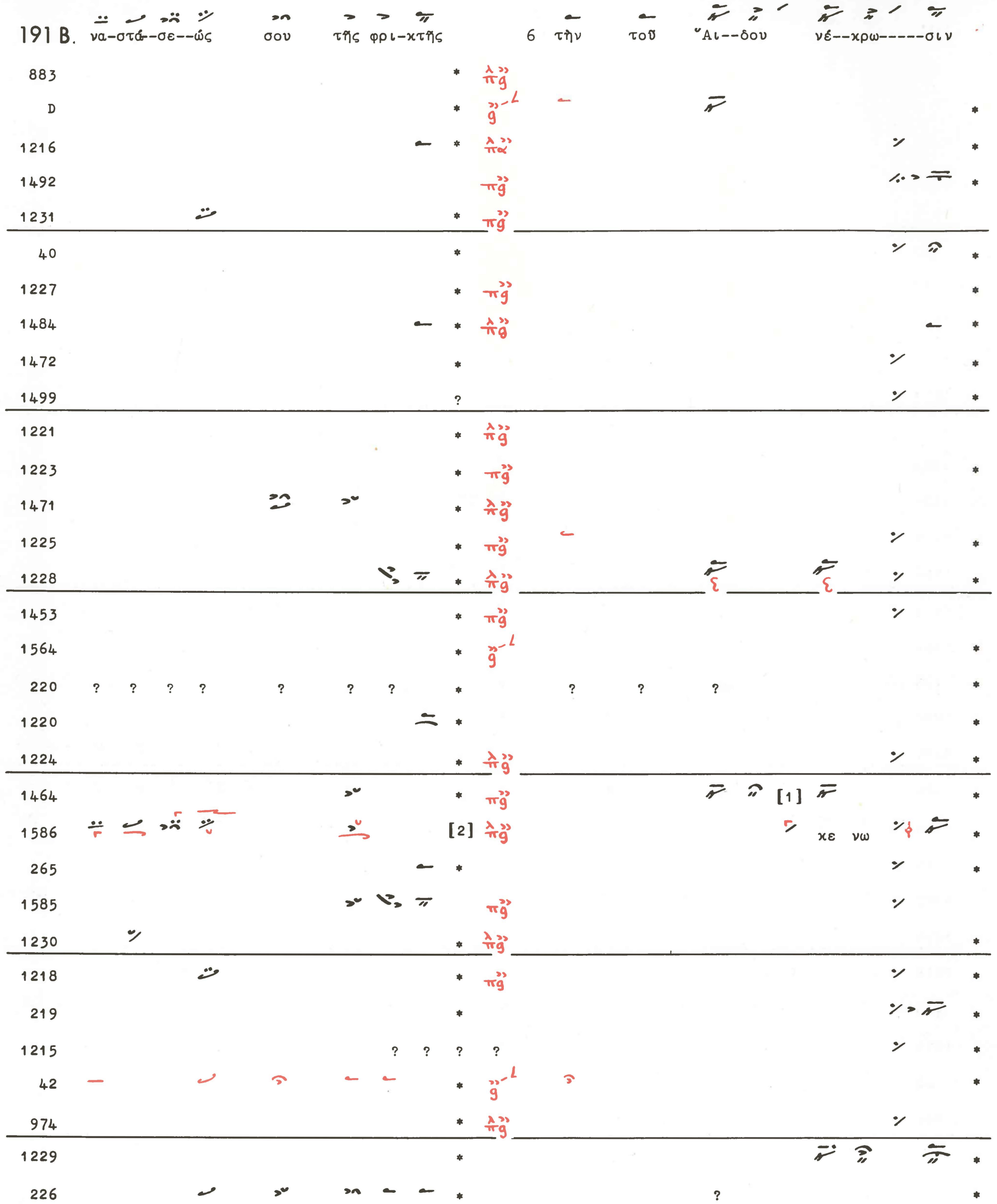
1. The last neumes in Vatopedi 1492 are crowded; repeated in margin for the sake of clarity.

2. In Sinai 1564, θελήματα is written twice, the second time without neumes.

Τέτρωμαι, lines 5-6



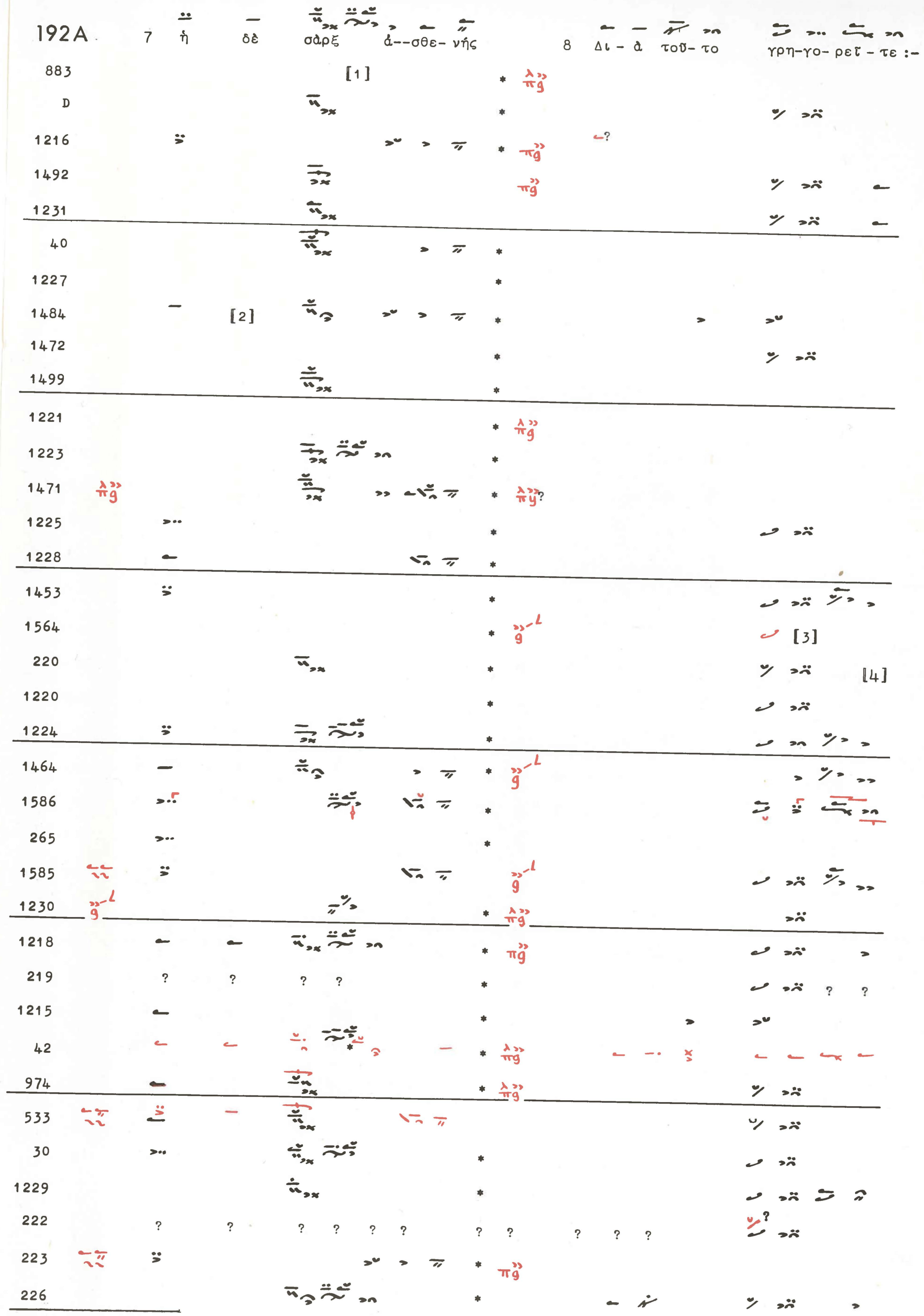
Σήμερον , lines 5-6



NOTES:

1. No Oxeia in Sinai 1464.
2. In Sinai 1586 no dot, but end of line.

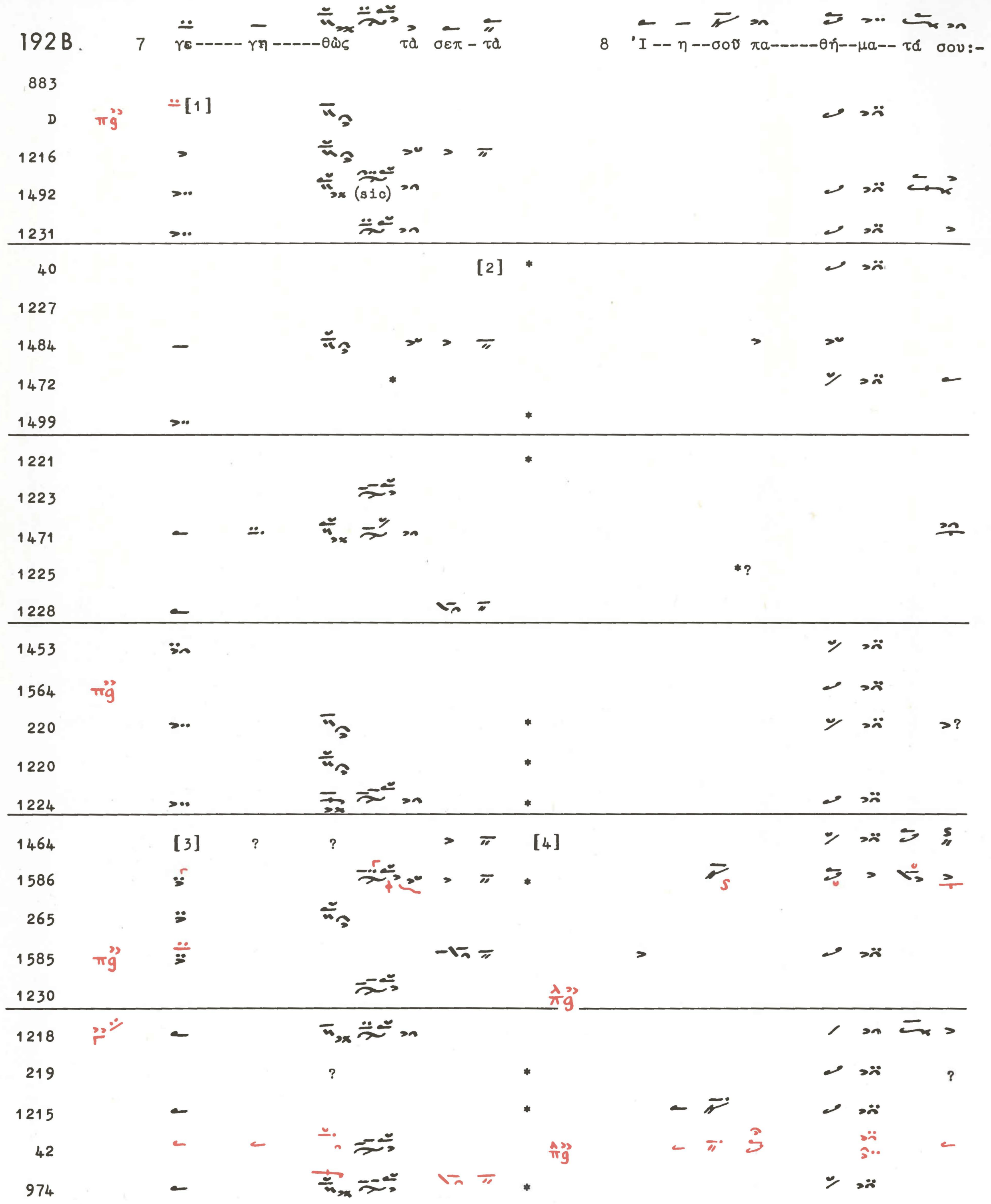
Ἔστησαν.lines 7-8



NOTES:

1. In Athens 883, this group runs on from one line to the next; at the end of the first line the scribe wrote [neume] , at the beginning of the next line [neume]
2. In Sinai 1484 the words δε σαρξ ασ have been added in rasura, by a late hand.
3. In Sinai 1564 there is an illegible red variant over the syllable γο.
4. Over the last syllable in Patmos 220 there are faint traces of a neume; it may be Ison, or Elaphron, or Apostrophos.

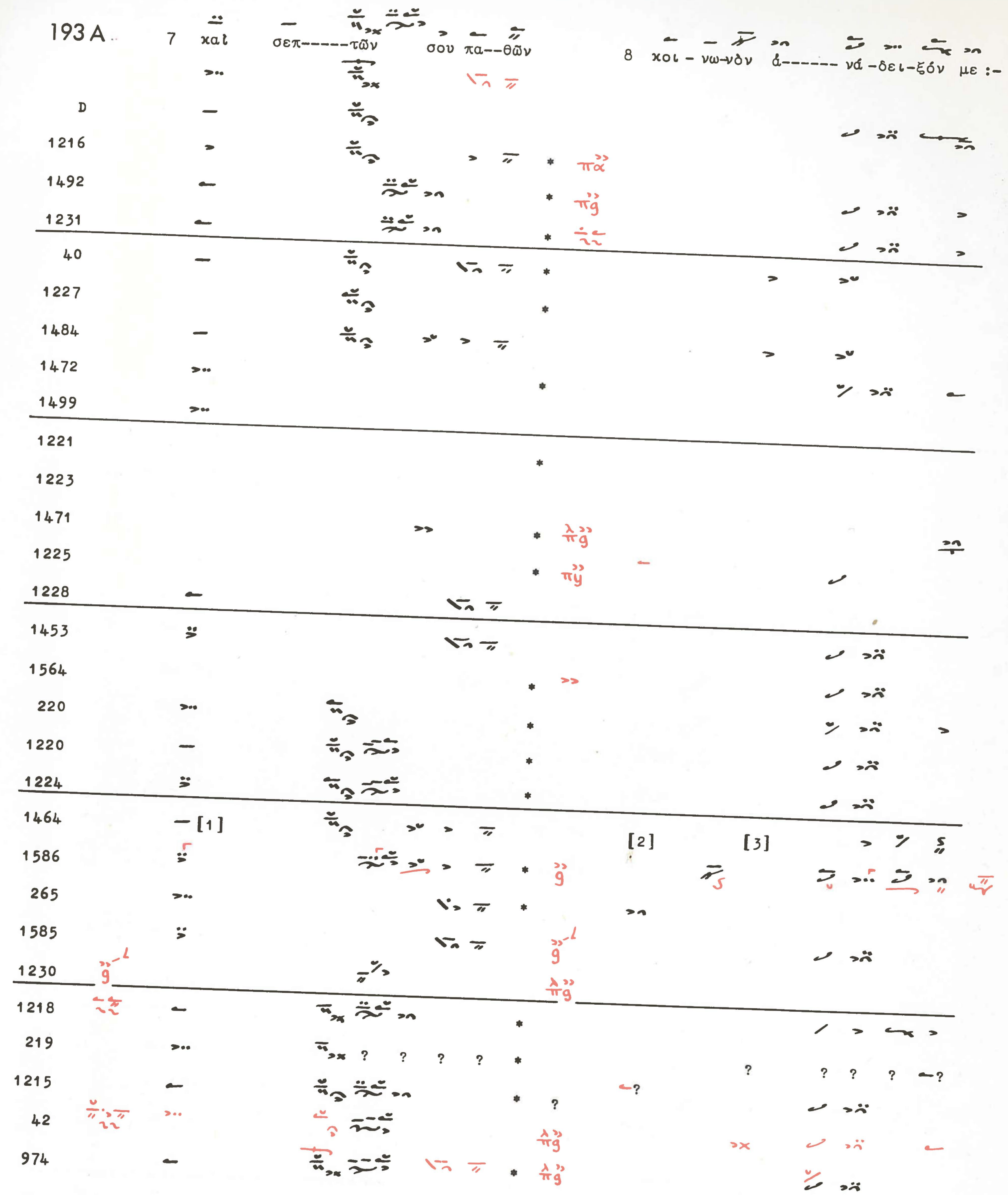
Κύριε, lines 7-8



NOTES:

1. The red neumes in D are confirmatory.
2. After the [neume] Coislin 40 has a Kentema (?) in grey ink: [neume]
3. In Sinai 1464 the melody on γεγηθῶσ is illegible; in margin: γε γη θω
4. In Sinai 1464 no dot, but end of line.

Τέτρωμαι, lines 7-8



NOTES:

1. Over the Oligon on the first syllable in line 7, a late hand in Sinai 1464 has added Dyo Kentemata (?), the result being [neume].
2. In Sinai 1464 the first three syllables of line 8 were omitted; added, with neumes, over the line.
3. In Sinai 1464 the Elaphron seems to be a later addition.

Σήμερον , lines 7-8



DANSK RESUMÉ

INTONATIONSFORMLER OG TONEARTSANGIVELSER

i

BYZANTINSKE MUSIKHÅNDSKRIFTER

DANSK RESUMÉ [1].

KAPITEL I: INDLEDENDE BEMÆRKNINGER.

1 Den byzantinske notation er i sine senere faser (den såkaldte "runde notation", fra og med 12. århundrede) en interval-notation, hvor hver tone bestemmes i relation til den umiddelbart forudgående tone. Da notationen ikke gør forskel på heltonetrin og halvtonetrin, er det kun muligt at synge - og at transskribere - en melodi korrekt, hvis man ved hvordan interval-kædens første led (melodiens første tone, initialis) ligger i forhold til den pågældende tonearts halvtonetrin. Til at bestemme denne initialtones leje tjener de signaturer (μαρτυρίαι) eller intonationer (ἠχήματα) som normalt anføres foran hver melodi i et byzantinsk musikhåndskrift.

1 Efter at det ad experimentel vej var lykkedes TILLYARD at fastslå betydningen af en række hyppigt forekommende signaturer, var vejen åbnet for en transskribering af de middelalderlige byzantinske melodier.

Et stort skridt videre nåede forskningen med STRUNK's <u>Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes</u> fra 1945 (The Musical Quarterly, 31), hvor det for første gang blev klarlagt, hvorfor signaturerne just betød netop dét som TILLYARD og WELLESZ havde påvist at de måtte betyde, og hvor forholdet mellem intonation og melodi-begyndelse blev belyst med en række instruktive iagttagelser. I den samme artikel gjorde STRUNK opmærksom på, at intonationerne ikke blot tjente til indledning og tonearts-orientering, men også hyppigt fungerede som overgangsled - sunget af solist mellem korisk recitation af Psalmevers (στίχοσ) og korisk fremførelse af Stikheron, Heirmos, eller Troparion.

3 I mange musikhåndskrifter findes der signaturer ikke blot foran hver enkelt hymne, men også inde i melodierne. Disse såkaldte medial-signaturer er oftest blevet opfattet som stumme kontroltegn, anbragt til orientering for sangerne. Under deres arbejde med håndskriftet Ashburnhamensis 64 er WELLESZ og HØEG nået til en ny opfattelse af medial-signaturerne, idet begge disse forskere er gået ind på den antagelse at medial-signaturerne har været sungne.

I de seneste år har THODBERG på en yderst original måde forstået at udnytte medial-signaturerne til tonalitets-undersøgelser. Tilsyneladende 'gale' medial-signaturer er af THODBERG blevet sat i forbindelse med forekomst af halvtonetrin på steder, hvor man hidindtil ikke har erkendt disse intervallers tilstedeværelse. Disse undersøgelser (som indtil nu ikke har vundet almindelig tiltro) har, foruden STRUNKs ældre undersøgelser over forholdet mellem signatur og intonation og over intonationernes funktion, været en stadig in-

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1. Tallene i margin er sidehenvisninger til den engelske tekst.

spirationskilde for mit eget arbejde, således som det fremlægges i nærværende bog.

5 I det forsøg som her er gjort på at tegne et sammenhængende billede af signaturers og intonationers væsen og funktioner, har jeg med velberåd hu undladt at definere genstanden for mine undersøgelser på anden måde end ved bogens titel. Bogen er disponeret sådan, at den begynder med en række kapitler som på systematisk måde behandler problemer der knytter sig til signaturer og intonationer:

II: Transskriptionsproblemer,
III: Codicologiske spørgsmål,
IV: De byzantinske musikteoretiske skrifters oplysninger,
V: Intonationernes funktion,
VI: Udførelsespraxis.

Derefter følger en kronologisk gennemgang af intonationernes anvendelse indenfor de forskellige genrer af byzantinsk musik og, i tilknytning hertil, et forsøg på at nå bag om de skrevne kilder til intonationernes oprindelse og ældste historie (VII). I et afsluttende kapitel (VIII) gøres der kort rede for de praktiske konsekvenser som mine resultater kan formodes at ville få for fremtidig udgivelse af byzantinsk musik.

Appendices A og B indeholder en detailleret analyse af rubrikatorernes arbejde i Wiener-Stikherariet Theol. Graec. 181 (Appendix A) og en kollation af 128 versioner af en enkelt Stikheron-melodi (Appendix B).

KAPITEL II: TRANSSKRIPTIONSPROBLEMER.

7 Den byzantinske musiks diatoniske karakter er en arbejdshypotese, hvis gyldighed kan underbygges af en række iagttagelser. Det tilgrundliggende tonale system er bedst blevet beskrevet af STRUNK i en artikel i <u>The Musical Quarterly</u> 28, 1942. Det udgøres af en central oktav, bestående af to disjunkte tetrakorder, med konjunkt forlængelse opad og nedad. Mellem første og andet trin af tetrakordet er der en heltone, mellem andet og tredie en halvtone, mellem tredie og fjerde en heltone. Da den byzantinske musik er rent vokal, har dette system ikke nogen absolut højde. Det har dog vist sig mest praktisk at transskribere den centrale oktav i lejet D - d, blandt andet fordi transskriptionen da som regel kan foretages uden fortegn.

8 I denne centrale oktav ligger de otte tonearters standardintonationer sådan, at de fire autentiske tonearters intonationer begynder på henholdsvis a, h, c, d (det øvre tetrakord) mens de fire plagale intonationer begynder på D, E, F, G (det nedre tetrakord). Denne relative placering gælder dog kun for hovedintonationer og hoved-signaturer; medial-signaturerne (og medial-intonationerne) kan - med visse begrænsninger - også optræde på parallelstederne i de andre tetrakorder.

9 Signaturerne anbringes i de fleste tilfælde i overensstemmelse med det her skitserede system. I hvert eneste musikhåndskrift vil man dog finde signaturer som af den ene eller anden grund er i konflikt med systemet.

10 Ofte er det dog kun tilsyneladende at der består en sådan konflikt. I 1942 påviste STRUNK, at hvis Tetartos melodierne blev transskriberet i det teoretisk rigtige leje (med δ>>–ʟ på d), ophørte en række 'gale' medial-signaturer med at volde vanskeligheder; indtil da havde man transskriberet disse melodier en kvint lavere og havde måttet betragte de pågældende medial-signaturer som skrivefejl. Samtidig gjorde STRUNK opmærksom på nogle melodier hvor partielle modulationer til dominant eller subdominant medførte en anvendelse af medial-signaturer som tilsyneladende gik imod det normale system (ϑ>>–ʟ på e, λπδ'' på c); hvis de pågældende afsnit blev transskriberet med henholdsvis fast fis og fast b, gav både melodi og signaturer mening.

10 Vi ved ikke noget om hvordan middelalderlig byzantinsk musikteori så på modulationer. I neobyzantinsk musikteori opereres der med fire slags modulationer, som angives med specielle efter-middelalderlige tegn (de såkaldte φθοραί). Af disse modulationer svarer to - μεταβολὴ κατ' ἦχον og μεταβολὴ κατὰ σύστημα - til de af STRUNK påviste fænomener; i middelalderen afspejledes de af en tilsyneladende ukorrekt brug af medial-signaturer, som allerede omtalt.

Spørgsmålet melder sig da naturligt, om der blandt andre 'gale' medial-signaturer i de middelalderlige håndskrifter er nogle som lader sig forklare udfra det som den moderne teori kalder μεταβολὴ κατὰ τόνον.

11 Inden dette spørgsmål kan besvares, må skrivernes pålidelighed med hensyn til skrivning af medial-signaturer tages op til undersøgelse. I Appendix B er der fremlagt kollationer af 128 nedskrifter af en bestemt melodi. I dette materiale findes der ialt ca. 350 medial-signaturer, hvoraf mere end 98 procent er korrekte. Skrivernes omhyggelighed synes ved disse tal at være tilstrækkeligt påvist.

19 I resten af Kapitel II behandles en række af de transskriptionsvanskeligheder som signaturer kan give anledning til. Denne del af undersøgelsen er disponeret således:

<u>A. Signatur eller intonation vanskelig at forstå i sig selv:</u>

1. Ulæselighed på grund af ringe blækkvalitet.
2. Usikkerhed fremkaldt af forvekslelige former af bogstaver eller neumer.
3. Skrivefejl.
4. Tritos signaturer med mere end een betydning.

20 <u>B. Uoverensstemmelse mellem signatur eller intonation og kontext:</u>

THODBERG udkastede i 1960 den hypotese, at der til grund for de melismatiske Kontakie-melodier lå et tonalt system som bestod af lutter konjunkte tetrakorder. Hans argumentation byggede i første række på visse 'gale' medial-signaturer der afveg fra de normalt anerkendte anvendelser på ganske bestemte måder. Ved Byzantinistkongressen i Ohrid i 1961 fremlagde THODBERG en undersøgelse af de medial-signaturer der optrådte i Stikherariet efter en bestemt medial-kadence på D i Plagios Tetartos melodier. På statistisk grundlag kunne THODBERG vise at det overvejende antal af 'gale' medial-signaturer i Stikherariet (i denne ganske bestemte situation) nøje svarede til de 'gale' signaturer som han tidligere havde forklaret i Kontakariet.

Selvom THODBERGs hypotese om de konjunkte tetrakorder måske kan anfægtes og andre forklaringer ikke er umulige, er der ingensomhelst tvivl om, at han har ret i at disse 'gale' medial-signaturer er anbragt på en meningsfuld måde; det kan ikke dreje sig om skrivefejl.

23 I visse sene håndskrifter anføres dobbelte medial-signaturer på en måde som kan lede til den antagelse, at de fænomener som afspejles i THODBERGs 'gale' signaturer af Byzantinerne selv har været følt som partielle transponeringer[2].

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2. Ifølge byzantinsk musik-terminologi er disse signaturer anbragt ἀπὸ μέλους.

26 Uoverensstemmelsen mellem sådanne 'gale' signaturer og deres kontext er da kun tilsyneladende. Hvis der er en virkelig konflikt mellem medial-signatur og kontext, kan denne ligesåvel skyldes kontexten som medial-signaturen. Vurderingen af konkrete tilfælde nødvendiggør indsigt i de pågældende håndskrifters tilblivelsesmåde.

KAPITEL III: CODICOLOGISKE SPØRGSMÅL.

28 De spørgsmål, som tages op i Kapitel III, drejer sig alle om skrivernes arbejdsteknik.

I mange håndskrifter er medialsignaturerne presset ind mellem melodiens neumer på en måde, som har fået mange forskere til at antage at disse signaturer er senere tilføjelser, af tvivlsom oprindelse og pålidelighed. Selv i sådanne håndskrifter lader det sig imidlertid ofte påvise, at signaturerne hører med til det oprindelige produkt.

30 Signaturer er ofte skrevet i to arbejdsgange. Dette kan skyldes, at skriveren har brugt en speciel, bredskåret pen til at skrive neumer. Men den mulighed foreligger også, at signaturernes to komponenter (tal og neumer) ikke er skrevet af samme skriver; det er ikke usædvanligt at træffe håndskrifter som er fremstillet af to skrivere i samarbejde (textskriver og neumator).

31 Undtagelsesvis lader det sig påvise, at medial-signaturerne er hentet fra et andet forlæg end det som skriveren benyttede til resten af sit arbejde. Denne fremgangsmåde kan dog selvsagt ikke have været den normale. De fleste håndskrifters medialsignaturer må enten være kopieret fra model-håndskriftet eller være indsat uden skriftligt forlæg. Forholdet mellem model og kopi kan kun sjældent studeres direkte, da sådanne par ikke er blevet fremdraget endnu; kun af nogle få sider kendes både model og kopi[3].

33 Når der før en melodi anføres to signaturer, drejer det sig oftere om alternativer end om rettelser. Dette vises ved en række exempler.

36 Det er ikke altid muligt at drage et skarpt skel mellem signaturer og intonationer. Der forekommer mellemformer. Oftest er disse kun grafiske varianter; men i et vist omfang synes de at hænge sammen med at intonations-melodierne ikke har været sunget på de sædvanlige intonationsstavelser, men på tonearternes navne (for eksempel βαρύσ, τρίτοσ).

38 Nogle skrivere har af og til moret sig med at bruge de stiliserede signatur-tal 9 og y til at betegne første stavelse i intonations-ord der begynder med α eller νε.

KAPITEL IV: SIGNATURER OG INTONATIONER I DE TEORETISKE OG DIDAKTISKE SKRIFTER.

39 Kapitlet deles i to hovedafsnit, der begge kun er ment som en foreløbig orientering i forekomst og anvendelse af signaturer og intonationer i de sene, oftest efter-middelalderlige musikteoretiske texter.

Første afsnit (om de oplysninger som disse texter giver om signaturer og intonationer) behandler følgende emner:

39 a. Intonations-melodiernes form. Om dette indeholder "Hagiopoliten" (Parisinus gr. 360) en række udsagn som desværre ikke altid er til at forstå.

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3. Ottobonianus gr. 380, fol. 4-9 er en kopi af samme håndskrifts fol. 1-3 + 10r. De første fem linier i Ashburnhamensis 64, fol. 117r er en kopi af den oprindelige tekst på samme håndskrifts fol. 124r foroven.

41 b. Intonations-stavelserne, herunder om betydningen af de gådefulde 'ord'. De fleste forklaringer bygger på den tilfældige lighed mellem Protos-intonationen αναvεαvεσ og sætningen ἄνα, ναὶ ἄνεσ ("HERRE, i sandhed, tilgiv!").

42 c. Terminologi. Om intonationer bruges ordene ἐνήχημα, ἤχημα, ἀπήχημα (det sidste kun sjældent). Ἐπήχημα synes specielt at betegne nana og nenano. Ordet ἦχοσ er mangetydigt og det er ofte umuligt at fastslå den præcise betydning; det bruges om intonation, om toneart, og om signatur. Betegnelsen μαρτυρία om signatur ser ikke ud til at være ældre end det 19. århundrede.

43 d. Intonationernes anvendelse. Allerede Hagiopoliten understreger at intonationer også anvendes til undervisning (διδάσκειν), foruden at de anvendes i kirkesangen (ψάλλειν).

44 e. Modulation. I det 15. århundrede har man skelnet mellem modulation ἀπὸ παραλλαγῆσ og modulation ἀπὸ μέλουσ. Sidstnævnte tydeliggøres ved specialtegn, de såkaldte φθοραί, mens medial-signaturer har været brugt i forbindelse med parallaktisk modulation. Phthorisk modulation er naturligvis ældre end de Phthorer som er blevet skabt for at betegne den. Hos teoretikeren Manuel Chrysaphes er der udsagn som viser, at også medial-signaturer har været anvendt ved phthorisk modulation. Hans beskrivelser af denne modulation minder meget om THODBERGs beskrivelser af forholdene i forbindelse med den melodiske formel "Anastama" på D i Plagios Tetartos Stikhera.

48 f. I adskillige Stikheraria er der, først eller sidst i håndskrifterne, lister over intonationer og tabeller over signaturer. Forekomsten af sådanne lister og tabeller må betyde, at de pågældende håndskrifter også har været anvendt til undervisningsbrug.

49 Kapitlets andet hovedafsnit anskueliggør ved en række exempler hvordan signaturer og intonationer er blevet brugt i undervisningen. Formålet med de fleste "παραλλαγαί" og diagrammer er at gøre begynderen helt fortrolig med tonearternes relative placering. I disse forskellige "methoder" har signaturerne fungeret som symboler for sungne intonationer. Der er dog også tilfælde hvor signaturerne ser ud til at have været stumme tegn der kun skulle give oplysning om tonelejet - f. eks. i de såkaldte μετροφωνίαι, hvor der til hvert skridt i en velkendt melodi blev føjet en signatur (ofte uden 'hale'-neumer).

KAPITEL V: SIGNATURERS OG INTONATIONERS FUNKTIONER.

55 I de sidste 20 år har bl. a. STRUNK, WELLESZ, HØEG og THODBERG uddybet vor forståelse af signaturers og intonationers funktion. En gennemgang af de problemer, som knytter sig til medial-signaturerne, søger i dette kapitel at føre frem til et mere nuanceret billede af intonationernes funktioner.

Den vigtigste forudsætning for det følgende er den hypotese, at medialsignaturerne er symboler for sungne mediale intonationer. Denne hypotese bygger på følgende argumenter:

55 1. I visse håndskrifter optræder fuldt udskrevne medial-intonationer som tilfældige grafiske varianter for medial-signaturer.

56 2. Fortolkningen af medial-signaturer som symboler for sungne intonationer ville stemme godt sammen med den almindeligt antagne forklaring af hoved-signaturerne som grafiske kortformer for intonationer.

56

3. En analyse af sammenhængen mellem textstruktur og medial-signaturers placering viser, at der dels er en udpræget affinitet mellem medial-signaturer og versestruktur, dels er en tendens til at undgå at anbringe medial-signaturer på steder hvor de ville skille syntaktisk nært sammenhørende led. Et element, der på denne måde kan vanskeliggøre textforståelsen hvis det bliver anbragt forkert, og kan tydeliggøre versestrukturen hvis det bliver anbragt rigtigt, kan ikke kun have været beregnet til at skulle ses; det må også have talt til øret.

60

4. Et tilsvarende argument kan hentes i forholdet mellem medial-signaturer og kadencer. Medial-signaturer optræder nemlig langt sjældnere efter 'videreførende' end efter 'hvilende' kadencer.

64

Antagelsen af medial-signaturerne som symboler for sungne medial-intonationer er som arbejdshypotese lagt til grund for resten af denne bog.

Medial-signaturerne opfattes normalt som kontroltegn, der skal vise sangeren om han er på rette sted, og hjælpe ham tilbage hvis han er kommet på afveje. Denne opfattelse er i overensstemmelse med moderne, neobyzantinsk praxis - og anden funktion kunne man vel heller ikke tilskrive medial-signaturerne, sålænge de blev antaget for at være stumme tegn. Det er imidlertid ikke vanskeligt at finde situationer, hvor den melodiske kontext er så simpel eller så karakteristisk at kontroltegn er ganske overflødige. WELLESZ har været inde på tanker om, at medial-signaturerne - som sungne tegn - har skullet hjælpe sangeren "to catch the right note of the following phrase". At heller ikke denne opfattelse holder stik, viser bl. a. de talrige steder hvor den første melodi-neume efter en medial-signatur er en Ison, tegnet for tonegentagelse i samme leje; thi her må den forudgående finalis være tilstrækkelig orientering.

66

I Kapitel VII vil der blive fremlagt en undersøgelse af de måder hvorpå medial-signaturer har været anvendt i musikhåndskrifter fra forskellige genrer og forskellige perioder. Resultatet af denne undersøgelse er, at mediale intonationer (hvadenten de skrives helt ud eller angives med de tilsvarende medial-signaturer) har haft mere end een funktion, og at anvendelsen af disse vokaliser har ændret sig i tidernes løb - med de neobyzantinske stumme kontroltegn som denne udviklings afslutning.

Intonationer har haft *en praktisk funktion*, når de har gjort sangen lettere. Dette gælder de intonationer som er blevet sunget før melodibegyndelse. Sådanne intonationer har kunnet bidrage til at gøre den følgende indsats mere præcis, og har samtidig orienteret i placeringen af melodiens halvtonetrin. På tilsvarende måde har intonationer været anvendt inde i melodierne, når en ny tonalitet skulle indføres eller når en anden sanger eller sanger-gruppe skulle overtage melodien undervejs. Desuden har mediale intonationer været brugt til at gøre textstrukturen klarere. Denne funktion er ikke blot praktisk, men også af *en ornamental virkning*. Vi har grunde til at antage at disse indskudte ornamenter har gjort fremførelsen mere festlig.

66

Stundom optræder der andre indskud end mediale intonationer. Nogle af disse intercalerede led må karakteriseres som regie-bemærkninger, f. eks. til angivelse af repetition (πάλιν, τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ τρίτον) eller variation (ἄλλον, καὶ ἕτερον), mens andre unddrager sig en præcis fortolkning - f. eks. imperativerne λέγε, λέγετε og ψάλατε. Af andre intercalerede elementer med strukturerende eller ornamental funktion kan nævnes ἐπιφωνήματα (indskudte refrainer) og ordet Alleluia.

71

Når intonationer af den ene eller anden grund skulle indlægges, var der oftest mere end een intonation der kunne passe til den musikalske kontext. Valget tager, som naturligt er, først og fremmest hensyn til den pågældende hymnes toneart (se statistikken side 71-72!). En undersøgelse af situationer hvor håndskrifterne ikke er enige i valget af medial-signatur viser endvidere at divergenserne ofte skyldes, at nogle håndskrifter lader signaturen rette sig efter den forudgående kadence, mens andre lader signaturen pege fremad til det påfølgende initialmotiv.

75

Overgangen fra sungne ἠχήματα til stumme μαρτυρίαι kan ikke følges i detailler. Endnu i det 16. århundrede optræder der medial-signaturer på en måde som viser at de står som symboler for sungne intonationer; men allerede på et tidligere tidspunkt kan stumme signaturer påvises, tilsyneladende fra første færd i forbindelse med undervisning.

KAPITEL VI: OPFØRELSE.

77

I dette kapitel søges intonationssyngningen sat ind i billedet af den byzantinske sangs forskellige udførelsesformer. Efter at disse former ganske kort er blevet beskrevet, og efter at de 6 mulige kombinationer af sang og intonations-syngning er blevet opregnet, nævnes det at WELLESZ og HØEG i deres studier over håndskriftet Ashburnhamensis 64 ikke er enige i spørgsmålet om af hvem medial-intonationerne er blevet sunget. Mens nemlig WELLESZ forestiller sig at medial-intonationerne blev sunget af den solist som sang selve melodien, mener HØEG at de må være blevet sunget "par une voix autre que celle du chantre"- uden at han dog tør afgøre om det drejer sig om en anden solist eller om et kor.

79

I Typika og i rubrikkerne i sene, kalophoniske håndskrifter angives det af og til, af hvem intonationerne har været sunget. Så godt som altid er det i denne forbindelse *Domestikos* (dirigenten) som nævnes, aldrig Protopsalten eller et kor.

81

For ældre tiders vedkommende er man henvist til indirekte vidnesbyrd, af hvilke ingen strider mod tanken om at intonationerne har været sunget af dirigenten. Man kan således gøre opmærksom på, at andre intercalerede led - der ligesom intonationer og signaturer normalt skrives med rødt blæk - giver direktiver til sangerne, f. eks. de ovenfor omtalte imperativer og regie-bemærkninger.

82

Det eneste sted hvor det udtrykkeligt siges, at intonationer har været sunget af mere end een sanger, er Konstantin Porphyrogennetos's *Liber caeremoniarum*, hvor det er Krakterne som synger medial-intonationerne.

83

HØEG har fremsat den formodning, at der kunne være en forbindelse mellem medial-intonationer og den såkaldte Ison-sang, nærmest vel sådan at Ison-syngerne med mellemrum forlod deres Ison for at synge medial-intonationer, for derefter igen at vende tilbage til Ison. For nogle år siden har JAMMERS opbygget en stor teori om vesterlandsk *organum*, en teori hvori Ison-sang ved kejserhoffet i Konstantinopel spiller en afgørende rolle. Det må indtil videre fastholdes, at vi intet ved om middelalderlig Ison-syngning - ikke engang om fænomenet fandtes - så tanker om en eventuel forbindelse mellem Ison-syngning og medial-intonationer må nødvendigvis forblive ganske hypotetiske.

KAPITEL VII: DET BYZANTINSKE INTONATIONSYSTEMS OPRINDELSE OG UDVIKLING.

85 Mens de foregående kapitler har behandlet signaturer og intonationer på en systematisk måde, bliver stoffet i nærværende kapitel gennemgået kronologisk.

85 De undersøgelser, der af STRUNK, MARZI, THODBERG m. fl. er blevet foretaget af forholdet mellem intonation og melodibegyndelse, er i hovedsagen blevet udført på håndskrifter i Rund Notation. En sammenligning mellem hoved-signaturerne i det palæobyzantinske håndskrift Parisinus graecus 356 (udviklet Coislin Notation) og et par håndskrifter i Rund Notation, viser at reglerne for sammenkædning af intonation og incipit stort set ikke er blevet ændret ved indførelsen af den nyere, præcise notation. Undersøgelsen kan ikke føres længere tilbage, da de tidligere typer af palæobyzantinsk notation ikke anvender differentierede signaturer.

89 Med hensyn til anvendelsen af mediale intonationer er vi heldigere stillet. Thi selvom medial-signaturerne vedbliver at være udifferentierede også efter at hoved-signaturerne differentieres, kan der fra langt ældre kilder drages vigtige slutninger ud fra medial-signaturernes forekomst og placering. Allerede de ældste musikhåndskrifter (10. århundrede) anvender nemlig medial-signaturer, omend i mindre omfang end de senere.

89 I palæobyzantinske Stikherarier optræder medial-signaturer normalt i forbindelse med toneartskifte, og da sådanne skifter oftest hænger sammen med textens struktur, kommer medialsignaturerne til at afspejle textens leddeling. Af og til anbringes medial-signaturer ved sådanne vendepunkter i texten uden at der er tale om toneartskifte; medial-intonationerne har altså her fået en strukturerende funktion i sig selv. Antallet af medial-signaturer pr. Stikheron er oftest 0-1, sjældent mere end 2 - og kun ganske undtagelsesvis udstyres Stikhera med mange medial-signaturer, der i så fald afspejler versestrukturen.

97 I palæobyzantinske Heirmologier anvendes medial-signaturer på samme måde, og det må skyldes Heirmologionstilens tonale enkelhed at medialsignaturerne optræder i mindre omfang her end i Stikhera. Af interesse for diskussionen om fortolkningen af de 'gale' medial-signaturer er en række tilfælde, hvor et af vore allerældste håndskrifter (Lavra B 32, 10. århundrede) anvender en E-signatur i Plagios Deuteros på a (med et umiskendeligt b i det følgende!) - altså en meget gammel forekomst af ἀπὸ μέλουσ signaturer.

102 Anvendelsen af mediale signaturer og intonationer i melismatisk sang kan kun beskrives utilstrækkeligt for den palæobyzantinske periodes vedkommende. Dette skyldes dels mangel på kilder, dels at kun visse grene af det senere materiale er studeret. De bedste kilder til den gamle periode er de oldkirkeslaviske Kondakaria (i asmatisk stil). En sammenstilling mellem disses brug af medial-intonationer og anvendelsen af mediale intonationer i syditalienske Asmatika fra en langt senere tid viser en forbløffende overensstemmelse, som må afspejle forholdene i de to grenes fælles udgangspunkt, de palæobyzantinske Asmatika.

107 Med hensyn til den anden hovedgenre af melismatisk sang, Psaltikonstilen, er vi henvist til tilbageslutninger fra Psaltika i Rund Notation. Ligheden mellem palæobyzantinske og senere Asmatika og mellem Asmatika og Psaltika i Rund Notation leder os til at antage, at der ikke er sket væsentlige ændringer i anvendelsen af mediale intonationer i disse to melismatiske genrer. Begge genrer blev sunget - eller kunne synges - med hyppige medial-intonationer. Visse detailler i de slaviske kilder lader formode, at mediale intonationer ovenikøbet blev sunget i et større omfang end det fremgår af håndskrifternes signaturer og intonationer.

114 Selvom den sang der beskrives i Konstantins Liber caeremoniarum ikke i egentlig forstand hører til kirkemusikken, må den inddrages i beskrivelsen af palæobyzantinsk melismatisk sang på grund af sine intonationsstavelser som er næsten identiske med dem vi kender fra det melismatiske Asmatikon. Opførelsestyperne er her stærkt varierede; i visse tilfælde foreskrives mediale intonationer for hvert halvvers, mens andre minder mere om det vi har mødt i Stikherarierne (en eller et par intonationer pr. hymne).

115 I notationsløse liturgiske håndskrifter anføres ofte en intonation (eller en signatur) foran kontakiernes Oikos-refrain. I et påfaldende stort antal tilfælde drejer det sig her om intonationen nana, som formodentlig her må have været anvendt på en anden måde end den vi kender fra andre genrer.

117 Med indførelsen af den Runde Notation (12. århundrede) bliver håndskrifterne mere explicite i deres oplysninger om syngning af mediale intonationer. Bortset herfra er der tilsyneladende ingen væsentlig forskel i syngningen af de to 'gamle' genrer af melismatisk sang (Asmatikon og Psaltikon).

118 Fra denne periode kendes endnu en melismatisk stil, den såkaldte kalophoniske sang, der er karakteriseret ved partielle repetitioner, ordomstillinger og indskud af koloraturer på meningsløse stavelser, de såkaldte τερετίσματα. Også i denne stil er medial-intonationerne intimt forbundet med textstrukturen. De kalophoniske fremførelser har ofte været fordelt mellem flere sangere eller sanger-grupper, hvorfor det bliver et definitionsspørgsmål om de intonationer der synges ved sangerskifte skal opfattes som medial-intonationer eller som intonationer ved melodibegyndelse.

124 I kalophoniske håndskrifter kan man undtagelsesvis træffe medial-signaturer som tilsyneladende ikke kan repræsentere sungne intonationer.

125 Mens mediale signaturer i de palæobyzantinske Stikhera og Heirmoi optrådte principielt på samme måde, bærer de to genrer sig højst forskelligt ad i den følgende periode. I Stikherarierne vokser antallet af medial-signaturer stærkt, mens disse signaturer næsten ganske forsvinder fra Heirmologierne. I det 16. århundrede viser medial-signaturerne sig dog igen i Heirmoi - efter andre principper end i de palæobyzantinske Heirmologia, men stadigvæk som symboler for sungne medial-intonationer. Årsagen til disse ændringer i anvendelsen af medial-signaturer i Heirmologierne er ukendt; man kunne tænke sig at de afspejler ændringer i Kanon-syngningen.

128 I Stikherarierne kan man fra slutningen af det 12. århundrede iagttage en udvidelse af brugen af medialsignaturer. Det mest karakteristiske i denne periodes udførelse af Stikhera er dog de store forskelle der består mellem samtidige håndskrifters behandling af stoffet. I nogle håndskrifter foreskrives syngning af mediale intonationer så at sige før hvert langvers og ofte ved hvilepunkter inde i verset, mens andre håndskrifter anfører en eller dog kun ganske få medial-signaturer pr. Stikheron. Endelig er der Stikherarier som ganske mangler medial-sig-

naturer. For at fuldstændiggøre billedet må det nævnes, at et og samme håndskrift kan variere stærkt fra hymne til hymne. Dette brogede billede må afspejle forskellige samtidigt eksisterende måder at synge Stikhera på.

141 Fra kalophoniske Stikherarier kendes en opførelsesform, hvor det enkelte Stikheron inddeles i to eller tre πόδεσ, af hvilke den sidste munder ud i et 'refrain', sunget af koret på den traditionelle melodi der overleveres i ikke-kalophoniske Stikherarier. Hvordan disse "fødder" iøvrigt har været opført, ved vi ikke. Nu optræder imidlertid medialsignaturer i ikke-kalophoniske Stikherarier ofte netop på de steder, hvor de kalophoniske Stikhera skifter ποῦσ eller går over til syngning ἀποχοροῦ. Man fristes under disse omstændigheder til at spørge, om der bag sådanne medial-signaturer kan ligge en indviklet opførelsespraxis af samme art som dén der genfindes i de kalophoniske πόδεσ-arrangementer.

143 I forbindelse hermed er det af interesse at se rubrikker og Typika beskrive indviklede opførelser, med skifte mellem solist og "ὁ λαόσ" og med partielle repetitioner. Desværre er det endnu ikke lykkedes at genfinde de pågældende texter i håndskrifter med notation.

144 I Stikherarierne gengives medialintonationerne normalt med de tilsvarende medial-signaturer, og fuldt udskrevne medial-intonationer optræder kun sporadisk. Ofte drejer det sig her tydeligt nok om tilfældige grafiske varianter, men af og til optræder de fuldt udskrevne medialintonationer på en måde som tyder på at distinktionen mellem intonation og signatur er foretaget med bestemte formål.

147 Det afgørende spørgsmål med hensyn til anvendelsen af signaturer og intonationer i nyere og nyeste tid er spørgsmålet om, hvor store ændringer der er sket ved CHRYSANTHOSs reform i begyndelsen af det 19. århundrede.

147 De signaturer som den neobyzantinske notation anvender er grafiske videreudviklinger af de middelalderlige former. Af fremstillingen i PANAGIOTOPOULOSs håndbog fra 1947 fremgår det dog tydeligt, at signaturernes opbygning (af tal og 'hale' neumer) ikke længere erkendes; signaturerne er blevet til stivnede symboler.

148 Af intonationerne har nogle få bevaret den middelalderlige form; men oftest er formerne blevet helt forandrede. De moderne skildringer anfører ofte begge former side om side og vēd at skelne mellem gammelt og nyt.

149 De såkaldte monosyllabiske intonationer spiller nutildags en stor rolle, også i græsk folkesang. Deres oprindelse er ukendt; men ud fra den omstændighed at de oftest synges på stavelsen NE (slutstavelsen i mange af de middelalderlige intonationer) kunne man tænke sig at de afspejler en tilstand i hvilken det kun var signatur-neumerne (intonationernes 'haler') som blev sunget. Af denne mellemform mellem fulde intonationer og stumme signaturer er der kun få og usikre spor i senmiddelalderlige musikhåndskrifter.

150 I placeringen af medial-signaturer er der en forbløffende overensstemmelse mellem de moderne tryk og håndskrifter fra tiden opimod reformen.

153 De neobyzantinske signaturer er stumme tegn. En radikal ændring er dermed afsluttet. Desværre er det umuligt at følge faserne i udviklingen fra sungne intonationer til stumme signaturer, bl. a. netop på grund af den skrevne traditions stabilitet.

*

Dansk resumé

154 Den byzantinske musiks intonationer og signaturer kan undersøges i skriftlige kilder der spænder over mere end 1000 år, fra 10. århundrede til vor egen tid. Stort længere tilbage kan man næppe gøre sig håb om at finde direkte kilder, selvom håndskrifter med den primitive 'Theta-notation' som jeg fornylig har beskrevet i Classica et Mediaevalia måske vil fremskaffe nyt materiale en smule bagom 10. århundrede. Længere tilbage kan man kun nå gennem indirekte vidnesbyrd og ad ræsonnementets vej:

154 1. I Vesten kan de såkaldte noeane formler spores tilbage til Karl den Stores tid. Disse formler er utvivlsomt opstået med byzantinske intonationer som forbillede. Det er dog langtfra klart, hvor meget man fra noeane-formlernes form og anvendelse kan slutte om de byzantinske intonationer fra tiden før år 800.

158 2. De byzantinske intonationer er så intimt forbundet med Oktoekhos, at intonations-systemet ikke kan være ældre end etableringen af de otte kirketonearter. Om dateringen af ottetoneart-systemet ved vi ikke andet end at det formodentlig er ældre end Johannes fra Damaskus († ca 750), som af traditionen gøres til dette systems skaber. Der er dog ingen grund til at betvivle at intonationer under en eller anden form har været anvendt allerede før de otte standard-intonationer blev konstitueret som system.

158 3. Af litterære vidnesbyrd om sådanne intonationer i gammel tid er det kun lykkedes at fremdrage et enkelt, et Cassian-sted af tvivlsom værdi (slutningen af det 4. årh.).

158 4. Med hensyn til de ukendte fænomener, der hypotetisk må antages at ligge til grund for de byzantinske ἠχήματα, er vi derfor stort set henvist til tilbageslutninger fra ἠχήματα selv. I sådanne overvejelser må man skelne mellem intonations-stavelserne, intonations-melodierne og intonationernes funktioner.

Det falder uden for nærværende bogs rammer at søge en nærmere bestemmelse af de 'ur-intonationer' som ligger bag de byzantinske intonationer. Derimod har jeg fundet det naturligt at lade kapitlet om "origin and development" munde ud i en oversigt over de elementer som en teori herom må tage i betragtning.

KAPITEL VIII: KONKLUSIONER.

162 De vigtigste resultater af den undersøgelse der er udført i denne bog, lader sig udtrykke i følgende tre theser, der alle drejer sig om medial-signaturer:

1. these: Medial-signaturerne i byzantinske musikhåndskrifter skal opfattes som angivelser af muligheden for at synge de tilsvarende intonationer - af praktiske eller ornamentale grunde - undtagen i situationer hvor det direkte kan påvises at dette ikke kan have været tilfældet.

2. these: Medial-signaturer optræder af og til i forbindelse med sang der involverer repetition eller skifte mellem sangere; formodentlig har de tilsvarende intonationer her tjent til at gøre præcise indsatser lettere. Det er endnu uvist, i hvilket omfang man kan drage slutninger om sådanne opførelsestyper udfra forekomsten af medial-signaturer.

3. these: Et betydeligt antal af tilsyneladende gale medial-signaturer afspejler tonale ejendommeligheder i deres musikalske kontext og kan ikke afvises som værende skrivefejl eller misforståelser. Vi har grund til at antage, at de melodiske formler i mange af disse tilfælde af Byzantinerne selv har været følt som transponeringer eller modulationer.

Dansk resumé

163 Hvis disse theser akcepteres, vil dette kunne få adskillige konsekvenser for fremtidige udgaver af byzantinsk musik:

163 1. For at give et sandt billede af byzantinsk sang må man medtage medial-intonationer i langt højere grad end det hidtil har været praktiseret. Formodentlig vil det være mest praktisk at lade udgaverne afspejle ganske bestemte traditioner, som kan dateres og lokaliseres.

164 2. Den nære forbindelse mellem medial-intonationer og textstruktur taler for, at der i udgaverne ved typografiske midler gøres rede for de sungne texters struktur, hvilket også af andre grunde ville være ønskeligt.

164 3. Selvom medial-signaturerne må opfattes som symboler for sungne intonationer, er der dog ingen grund til at opløse dem til fuldt udskrevne intonationer. Tværtimod er der adskillige grunde som taler for at man bør følge de byzantinske skriveres eksempel og fortsat angive intonationerne ved deres middelalderlige symboler, medial-signaturer.

4. Hvis en sungen text bliver udgivet i en form, der gør rede for strukturen, vil det være mest praktisk at anbringe medialsignaturerne <u>foran</u> linierne, også i de tilfælde hvor de mediale intonationer hører hjemme efter en kadence, som ekko. 164

5. I det omfang medial-signaturer afspejler kontextens intervalforhold, frembyder de et kriterium som vil gøre det muligt at forsyne transskriptioner med fortegn uden at transskriptionernes objektive karakter derved forringes. Medial-signaturernes vidnesbyrd må dog altid betragtes som sekundært. Et sammenlignende studium af melodier og formler vil stadigvæk være afgørende. 164

INDICES

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ERRATA & ADDENDA

p.X, 1st col., line 11, Plousidianos's. Read: Plousiadinos's

p.12, 2nd col., note 25: The second half of the note is superfluous, since it is a duplicate of the text in col.2, lines 7-10.

p.47: The ὁ of the example ought to have been printed in red.

p.49, 1st col., lines 26-27. Read: no less than six

p.62, line 2. Read: No.100):

p.67, systems 9 and 10 of Example 5: The words το δευτερον and το τριτον ought to have been printed in red.

p.75, 2nd col.: On the last syllable of οσιε, the ͵ on top of is not part of the notation, but a product of the off-set-printing.

p.81, 1st col., lines 20-21. Read: Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸσ ἐν Βηθλεέμ γεννᾶται ἔκ παρθένου

p.82, note 29: The damaged word is ἅπαντεσ.

p.123, 6th system: ὅλοι ought to have been printed in red.

p.124, 1st col., line 27. Read: in the beginning of the fourth system

pp.128-129: Due to a misnumbering in my original manuscript there is no Example 30.

p.158, 1st col., line 21. Read: Nazianzus

ADDITIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX:

p.233: CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, Le livre des cérémonies. Texte établi et traduit par ALBERT VOGT. Tome II, Paris 1939. 41-42,114-115

p.235: MONUMENTA MUSICAE BYZANTINAE. VII. SPECIMINA NOTATIONUM ANTIQUIORUM. 1965. 118

-------- SUBSIDIA III, R. PALIKAROVA VERDEIL, La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes. 1953. 49,106

----------------- IV, MILOŠ M. VELIMIROVIĆ, Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant: The Hirmologium. 1960. 101

CORRECTIONS TO APPENDIX B (printed on gummed paper):

182A, Sinai 1564, -ά- For , substitute

183B, Sinai 1586 For , substitute

186A, Sinai 1586 For , substitute

189B, Sinai 1224, προ- Insert

192A, Athens 974, ἧ For , substitute

193B, Sinai 1471 For , substitute

A Key to the Round Notation

NB. For details, see H. J. W. TILLYARD's Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, Copenhagen 1935 (= MMB Subsidia I, 1).

INTERVAL SIGNS:

	Sign	Meaning
	Íson	same pitch as preceding note.
Steps (Sómata)	Olígon	ascending second, each of the neumes having special dynamic qualities. In the transcriptions of the MMB the following symbols are used to distinguish between them: Oligon, Oxeia, Petasthe, Kouphisma, Pelaston, Dyo Kentemata.
	Oxeía	
	Petasthé	
	Koúphisma	
	Pelastón	
	Dýo Kentémata	
	Apóstrophos	descending second
Leaps (Pneúmata)	Kéntema	ascending third
	Hypselé	ascending fifth
	Elaphrón	descending third
	Khamelé	descending fifth

MAIN RULES FOR COMBINATION OF SIGNS:

1. No Pneuma can stand alone over a syllable; it needs the support either of a Soma (e.g. for ascending third), or a rhythmical sign (e.g. for ascending third with considerable lengthening), or a phrasing sign (e.g. which, if counted from G, is bG).
2. The Soma loses its interval value (but not its dynamic quality) if the Pneuma stands to the right (or below). If the Pneuma is put on top of the Soma, the two values are added together.

   NB. Thus is a descending third, a descending fourth, an ascending fourth, an ascending fifth with Oxeia quality, an ascending sixth (Petasthe), ascending fifth (Petasthe).
3. If Somata are combined, their interval values are added together (e.g. for ascending third with Petasthe quality).
4. In combinations, the Ison (sign for repetition of pitch) annuls the interval value of its supporting neume, but not its dynamic quality.
5. The Dyo Kentemata always retains its interval value, adding an ascending second to the combinations in which it occurs.

   NB. Thus if counted from G is ab, is EF, is Ga.

RHYTHMICAL SIGNS:

Sign	Meaning
Diplé	double length (MMB:), the Dyo Apostrophoi only for lengthened descending second.
Dýo Apóstrophoi	
Krátema	considerable lengthening (MMB:).
Tzákisma	slight lengthening (MMB:).
Gorgón	shortening (MMB: c, e. g. =).
Apóderma	fermata (MMB:).

COMPOSITE SIGNS:

Kratemohypórrhoon (combines Kratema and Hyporrhoe, see below).

Kratemohypórrhoon + Oxeia or Oligon.

PHRASING SIGNS:

In the later period of Round notation the manuals (e.g. the Papadikai) list more than 50 different signs indicating details of the musical phrasing. See, for instance, the Papadike edited in TARDO's L'antica melurgia bizantina, Grottaferrata 1938, p. 155. Many of these so-called "Great Hypostases" are rarely or never found in the musical manuscripts. In Handbook, pp. 25–29, TILLYARD deals with those usually found in the 12th–14th centuries. Among the most commonly used Hypostases are:

Sign	Meaning
Bareía	Examples of Bareia groups (in which the last note is always descending): (MMB:)
Psefistón	MMB: sfz. (or).
Psísma	MMB: dim. (or).
Hyporrhoé	two consecutive descending seconds, perhaps glissando? MMB: (perhaps ?). NB in the group "Seísma" ( ) the Hyporrhoe loses its interval value. MMB: dim. or .
Xerón Klasma	Example: MMB: .
Kýlisma	Examples:
Thematismós	Examples: (Thematismós éso), (Thematismós éxo).

MODAL SIGNATURES:

Mode		Mode		Mode	
Protos:	(on a)	Plagios Protos:	(on D)	Naná:	(on c)
Deuteros:	(on b)	Plagios Deuteros:	(on E)	Nenanó:	(on a)
Tritos:	(on c)	Barys:	(on F)		
Tetartos:	(on d)	Plagios Tetartos:	(on G)		

A Key to the Round Notation

NB. For details, see H. J. W. TILLYARD's Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, Copenhagen 1935 (= MMB Subsidia I, 1).

INTERVAL SIGNS: Íson – same pitch as preceding note. Steps (Sómata): Olígon, Oxeía, Petasthé, Koúphisma, Pelastón, Dýo Kentémata – ascending second, each of the neumes having special dynamic qualities. In the transcriptions of the MMB the following symbols are used to distinguish between them: Oligon, Oxeia, Petasthe, Kouphisma, Pelaston, Dyo Kentemata. Apóstrophos – descending second. Leaps (Pneúmata): Kéntema – ascending third; Hypselé – ascending fifth; Elaphrón – descending third; Khamelé – descending fifth.

MAIN RULES FOR COMBINATION OF SIGNS: 1.–5. (as above)

RHYTHMICAL SIGNS, COMPOSITE SIGNS, PHRASING SIGNS, MODAL SIGNATURES (as above)

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